HISTORY OF THE TAMILS

From the earliest times to 600 A. D.

P. T. SRINIVAS IYENGAR.

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BY

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PREFACE

This book is the result of my research work as Reader in Indian History, during the Academic year 1928-29. A part of the subject matter of the book was delivered as University Lectures in July of this year. I render thanks to Mr. A. Appadurai Ayyar for helping to prepare the Indexes.

P. T. S.

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INTRODUCTION

Scope of the History:

If by history is meant the story of the rise and fall of royal dynasties consequent on the slaughter of an immense number of human beings on the field of battle in the name of heroism, the tale of the displacement on the map of the world of large masses of humanity, eager to plunder the wealth accumulated by the patient toil of peceful people, the narrative of the rape of royal maidens and the shedding of innocent blood in revenge for the outrage, then Tamil India is the happy country which has had no history to recount upto 600 A. D. On the other hand if history means the account of the slow evolution of the social and religious life of a people under the stimulus of the geographical conditions of the environment and the influence of contact with peoples who have developed different kinds of culture, the description of the slow change in the ways in which they ate and drank, played and loved, sang and danced, paid court to kings and to gods, the relation of the story of the development of their internal trade and commerce with foreign countries, far and near, the narration of the evolution of their literature from humble beginnings till a complicated scheme of literary convention was established, there are ample materials for the reconstruction of the history of the Tamils from the earliest times upto 600 A. D. This story is attempted to be recounted in this book.

The stone tools of the different stages of the palaeolithic and neolithic periods of human culture have been collected, though unsystematically, by various people and lodged in Indian museums. An account of the kind of life led by the Tamil people in those far off ages, based on the silent testimony of stone artifacts has been given by me in the Stone Age in India.[1] Their social, religious, political and industrial life as revealed to a small extent by the artifacts of the early iron age and to a very large extent by a consideration of the vocabulary they possessed before they came in touch with the civilization of the Āryas of North India, has been described by me in my Pre-Aryan Tamil culture.[2] The present work is an attempt to recount the history of the Tamils such as can be derived from what has been saved, from the jealous hands of time, of their own ancient literature and from references to them in Sanskrit, Pali, Greek, Latin and other early records, literary and otherwise.

Sources of the History:

The Vedic literature, by which I mean, the Mantras and the Brāhmaṇas (which together are the Vedas), and the Sūtras which contain the early concepts of the Āryas with regard to the objects and the conduct of individual and social life, as well as the Itihāsas (the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata) and the Puranas, besides the early Pali, Bauddha and the Arddha Māgadhi Jaina works i e. all the available Aryan sources have been ransacked for information. It goes without saying that the kind of information obtainable from such sources will deal only with

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[1] Published by the University of Madras, 1926.

[2] Published 1929.

the intercourse of the Āryas with the Tamils. In using the Ancient North Indian tradition, and especially that which is recorded in the Puranas, I have almost entirely followed Pargiter's critical method and his conclusions. One most illuminating suggestion of his is that the Agastyas, Vasiṣṭhas, and Viśvāmitras mentioned in the Sanskrit works, were not each one man who baffles the reader by appearing and reappearing in every age from that of Ikṣvāku to that of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, but were a series of men, their names being family names and not personal names. This idea has reduced chaos to order and enabled Pargiter to frame fairly accurate lists of the sequence of kings in various ancient North Indian provinces, which I generally follow. These lists have enabled me to trace the gradual spread of Aryan cults in South India in the Vedic epoch.

Non-Indian sources of imformation, such as the Mesopotamian and Egyptian inscriptions, and Greek and Latin works, necessarily deal only with India's ancient commercial intercourse with countries to her west. These have been very thoroughly studied and utilized by Schoff in his edition of the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea and Warmington in his Commerce between the Roman Empire and India. These two books I have analysed and rearranged the well-documented information given in them, epoch by epoch, correlating it to what little information is available from the Indian side.

But the staple crop I have garnered for the purpose of this book is the Tamil literature of the period before 600 A.D. Practically the earliest book I have based much of my deductions on, is the Poruḷadigāram of Tolkāppiyam. That book directly aims at describing the literary conventions of the literature that preceded

its composition, and I have treated those conventions as representing the actual customs and manners of the people who lived for a milleninum or two preceding its date. Much more direct is the evidence of the many poems of different ages, collected in the Togainūṛkaḷ, the anthologies, which have preserved a small percentage of the immense literature of the early Tamils. These poems have been to a small extent already utilized by two scholars. V. Kanakasabhai first ploughed the virgin soil and produced his Tamils Eighteen Hundred years Ago, which deals mainly with the stories of ancient Tamil Kings and incidentally with the life of the people. Great Tamil scholar as he was, he was suffering from a disability; in his time many of these ancient books had not been printed; so he was responsible for many errors which have led to the formation of some historical myths. The ripe scholar, S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar, Professor of Indian history and Archæology, Madras University, has ferreted out all the references to the names of kings and chieftains of ancient times, contained in the old Tamil poems, and discussed them in his several works; but he has not discussed the social history of the early ages or its evolution, and it is about the actual life of the people age by age that the early literature is extremely rich in information. In fact the embarrass de riches is very great and I fear I have not worked up even one fourth of the matter that could be mined from the early literature alone. As the information I have culled is mostly absolutely new, I have done what previous writers have not done, and what may almost vex those of my readers who do not know Tamil, i.e., covered nearly one-third of every chapter based on Tamil literature with original texts in support of every one of my statements.

It is almost unnecessary to add that the Tamil extracts which I have translated for this purpose abound in old words and antiquated grammatical forms. As even the commentators sometimes, though rarely, go astray in interpreting them, I have not hesitated to differ from them, when I, perhaps somewhat presumptuously, thought them wrong. Even if the texts were plain, it would be difficult to translate them, as Tamil and English are so far apart from each other in structure. Added to this, the fact that Tamil poets, especially of the later periods (V and VI century A. D.,) indulged in lavishly heaping phrase on phrase, epithet on epithet, makes a straight translation almost impossible. But as the translations are for a historical purpose, I have attempted in every case a literal translation, even defying English idiom occasionally. But yet I hope the translations will prove readable. I request that Tamil scholars will kindly bring to my notice all cases where they think my translations are wrong. However I do not think I have misrepresented the text anywhere.

Chronology:

If chronology is the eye of History, Ancient Indian History will have to be always blind. But students of the evolution of the life of people may well be contented with a knowledge of the sequence of events, actual, i.e. arithmetically correct dates, being scarcely necessary for the purpose. Ancient Indian chronology is and will continue to be in an unsettled condition, and so afford ample room for patriotic megalomania and prejudiced micromania. The date of the beginning of the Vedic period was fixed to

be 1200 B. C. at a time when, on account of the dominance of Archbishop Usher's chronology the world was believed to have been created in 4004 B.C. Though since that time, geologists have demanded that at least a hundred thousand years should be allotted to the past history of man and though the traces of the Saindhava culture have been unearthed at Harappa and Moheñjo Daro, going back to 3,000 B. C. and more, where the influence of Ārya ideas is not imperceptible, the inertia which the incredibly low date for the beginning of the Vedic period has acquired during the last hundred years, prevents European scholars from reconsidering the decision. From Pargiter's lists we learn that about 90 generations of kings ruled before the Bhārata battle; and if, as many considerations tend to prove, that battle took place in the XV century B.C., the Vedic period must have begun long before the third millennium B. C. An Arya one-fire cult must have flourished for a long time before the Vedic three-fire cult was evolved. Thus we reach 3,000 B. C. for the beginnings of the Ārya worship of fire. The problem cannot be discussed here, but I shall content myself with saying that I assume the Vedic period to have begun circa 3,000 B. C., that that period extended over three yugas of five centuries each. Rāmacandra lived at the end of the second third part of the vedic age; hence I assume his date to be 2,000 B. C. This date has the one virtue of being confirmed by the tradition that when he was born five 'stars' were in the ascendant. Five hundred years is a fair estimate for the length of time that elapsed between Śrī Rāma and Śrī Kṛṣṇa. This brings us to the end of the Vedic period, the traditional beginning of the Kali age with the death of Sri Kṛṣṇa and the severance

of the long line of mantra-composers. Indian chronology becomes easier, though not necessarily correct after the Bhārata battle. But we are chiefly concerned with the sequence of events and not actual dates which it is hopeless to try to attain.

With regard to South Indian dates, even these cloudy conceptions are beyond reach. Kanakasabhai imagined that he could get reliable dates for certain persons. But this has proved to be māyā. The utmost we can get is some vague sequences of events till we reach 600 A. D. after which time a few inscriptions have helped us to get a few reliable dates.

Transcription:

The transliteration of Sanskrit into Romic is the same as that adopted by most Sanskrit scholars. For the sake of Tamil words I have adopted a few more, namely, h for ஃ, ē, for எ, ō, ஒ, ṛ for ற், and ḻ for ழ். I have not used a special symbol for ன், for in modern pronunciation it cannot be distinguished from n. The writing of Tamil in Romic presents a special difficulty. In the Tamil alphabet many consonant-symbols do duty for two sounds and if Romic transliteration is not also phonetic, it loses its meaning. I have therefore rendered my pronunciation of Tamil words in the Romic script and I think my pronunciation is fairly "correct :" at least every Tamil man can follow it Another difficulty I had to face, that caused by the fact that when the same words appear both in the Sanskrit and the Tamil garb, a contradiction in transliteration appears. I have spelt these words in the Sanskrit form, when the context required one to think in Sanskrit and in the Tamil form, when the context required the Tamil one. This may preplex readers who do not know one of the two languages, but I do not see that it would be possible to avoid this contradiction.

THE HISTORY OF THE TAMILS
FROM
The Earliest Times to 600 A.D.

CHAPTER I

THE GEOGRAPHICAL BASIS OF THE ANCIENT CULTURE OF THE TAMILS

The Tamils, indigenous to South India:

If the culture of a people is indigenous to the soil on which they live, if it appears to have grown in situ before they came in contact with other people, it must be solely due to the influence of their physical surroundings. A culture that has grown as the reaction of a people to their milieu is due to geographical and not historical causes, like the influence of foreign people who have come in touch with them by conquest or trade or other forms of peaceful intercourse. We are in a position to trace the growth of human culture in Tamil India, from stage to stage, in ancient times, to the action of the physical environment on the human organism Several writers of Indian History seem to hold it as a necessary axiom that the fertile lands of India, with her wonderful wealth of minerals underground and her infinitely various fauna and flora overground, and with her climate, insular in some parts and

continental in others, pre-eminently fitted to nurture men, especially in the early stages of their evolution, should yet depend on importations from the arid countries beyond her borders for her human inhabitants and for the various cultures that adorn the pages of her history. Some writers conduct the ancient "Dravidians" with the self-confidence of a Cook's guide through the North-western or North-eastern mountain passes of India and drop them with a ready-made foreign culture on the banks of the Kāviri or the Vaigai. The slender evidence on which they rely for this elaborate theorizing is the fact that Brāhui, a dialect spoken in the northern corner of India, possesses a few words allied to Tamil words. The only legitimate inference from this is that the Tamil language or a language allied to it prevailed up to the North-west province in ancient times. This inference is supported by another fact, viz, that the modern dialects of Northern India, now called Sanskritic or Gaudian, have a fundamental grammatical framework and a scheme of syntax, the same as that of the Dravidian dialects, so much so that sentences from the one set of dialects can be translated into any one of the other set of dialects by the substitution of word for word, without causing any breach of idiom. These facts can only prove that people speaking dialects allied to Tamil once inhabited the whole of India and not that these people must necessarily have come into India from outside the country. No single fact has yet been adduced that compels us to believe that the ancient people of India were not autochthones.

Moreover the artefacts and other relics of ancient times discovered so far in Southern India form an unbroken series, showing that there has been in this country

a regular evolution of culture, which was never rendered discontinuous by any catastrophe, from the lowest palæolithic stage to the latest age of metals.[1] The Tamil language existed in South India during the course of this evolution The words necessary for the linguistic expression of every stage of this culture, are found in the earliest strata of Tamil, and the customs of these early ages continued sufficiently long to be enshrined in the earliest extant specimens of Tamil literature.[2] It may therefore be taken as fairly certain that the Tamils were indigenous to South India.

The five regions:

The ancient Tamils noted that the habitable parts of the earth's surface were divisible into five natural regions; they named each region a tiṇai. Tiṇai seems to be derived from a root tiṇ or tiṭ, which means a stretch of land. The word tiṇai is also used in the sense of the earth in general. The ancient Tamils observed not only that the land surface of the earth consisted of five natural regions, but that the manifestation of human life corresponded to the characteristics of the milieu in which each tribe has grown. The five regions were called (1) Kuṛiñji, the hilly country, (2) Pālai, the dry waterless region, (3) Mullai, the wooded land between the highlands and the lowlands, (4) Marudam, the lower courses of rivers, and (5) Neydal, the littoral tract, that which skirts the sea. All these five kinds of natural regions are found in the

[1] For the evidences for this statement, vide my Stone Age in India, published by the Madras University.

[2] For an elaborate proof of this, vide my Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture.

Tamil country, though on a small scale and, as the South Indian spread from region to region, he developed the stages of culture which each region was calculated to produce.

Anthropologists have noted three great regions as the three great areas of characterization of three different kinds of human culture. These kinds of culture have been called the Mediterranean, the Alpine and the Nordic, the first two being so named, because the action of the milieu on the evolution of human culture was first understood when the culture of the regions round the Mediterranean Sea and the lands on both sides of the Alps were studied and the last, because the third area of characterization was in the north of Eurasia. The Mediterranean culture, to use Tamil terms, is that of Neydal, the Alpine, that of Kuṛiñji, and the Nordic, that of Mullai. The most important, the culture of Marudam, or the lower valleys of rivers, was neglected because Western Europe having become thoroughly industrialized in the XIX century, the influence of river-valleys on European peoples in ancient days has become masked. Nor is there any desert in Europe, as there is a belt of it in Africa and Asia; the desert is the area of characterization of Bedouin life and this, too, has but received scant attention on the part of students of ethnology. The stages of culture through which man has passed are then five, the hunter, the nomad, the pastoral, the littoral and the agricultural, the last including the industrial stage; and these correspond to the Kuṛiñji, the Pālai, the Mullai, the Neydal and the Marudam regions. The physical characteristics of each region provided the stimulus for the development of the special culture of that region.

The hunter:

The earliest region inhabited by South Indian man was the Kuriñji, the tracts where stand the low hills resulting from the age-long erosion of the Deccan plateau by the never-failing yearly monsoon rains. Below the hilly regions was the thickly wooded tropical forest, named after the king Daṇḍaka, in which abounded the rivals of early man in the struggle for existence, his big-limbed foes, the lion, the tiger, the elephant, the wild buffalo, the python, as well as the minute insect pests which are even more destructive of human life than the larger animals. In the Kuriñji, early man could easily find shelter from the sun and the rain and from his animal foes, behind boulders and within natural caves. He had not then invented pots for storing water, but when the natural spring failed him, he found reservoirs of water in the rocky pits which abounded in the hilly region. The pebble that he could pick up from under his feet served him as a primitive tool; the abundant supply of flints of various shapes stimulated his inventiveness and he learnt to shape the axe-heads, and the spears, the choppers and the scrapers that he needed. Hence was evolved in this region the earliest stage of human culture, that called palæolithic; the artefacts belonging to this stage are chiefly found in the Kuriñji regions which abound in the Cuddapah, Nellore, North Arcot and Chingleput districts.

Early man in Kuriñji land at first subsisted on fruits, nuts and tubers. But the variations in the supply of these articles of food due to seasonal changes soon impelled him to add the flesh of animals to his dietary. This fact, more than the necessity for guarding himself

against his animal foes, made him an expert huntsman. Hence man's first profession was that of the hunter. Palæolithic implements all the world over are of the same patterns and this proves that the early hunter was a great wanderer over the surface of the earth.

This environment in the Kuṛiñji regions also led to two other very great inventions of the hunter-stage of human culture, namely the bow and arrow, and the process of making fire. The bamboo grows abundantly in the Kuṛiñji regions of Southern India and the Kuṛavar, as the inhabitants of that land were called, shrewdly noted the elasticity of the split trunks of the bamboo, bent them, tied long bits of dried creeper to them and learnt to shoot thence long thorns. This was the origin of the bow, in the use of which the Indian hillman has always been an expert, as is proved by the facts that the Indian bowman was a much prized component of the armies of Darius and Xerxes, and the Indian shikari to-day can kill a tiger by discharging a single arrow from his bow.

The other invention of the early Kuṛavar, the greatest of human inventions, was the making of fire. Early in the palæolithic age, the inhabitants of the Kuṛiñji land noted the origin of forest fires by the violent friction of bamboo stems against one another during the fierce monsoon blow and learnt therefrom that he could start a fire by rubbing together two pieces of wood. The first use to which fire was put was the roasting of the meat of the animals which he hunted.

Hunter women:

While the males of the settlement were out hunting, the women were engaged in picking fruits

digging for roots, and garnering the seeds of the cereals that grew of their own accord around their places of abode, especially wild rice, bamboo-rice, and panicum.

The other duty of women was to look after their children. Man at this stage of culture did not learn to build houses. They were scarcely necessary, for the South Indian climate was so beneficent that no shelter other than the covert afforded by trees or big boulders or natural caves was needed for protection from sun and rain. Houses were first built by man not so much for shelter as for the storage of primitive wealth in the form of food-stuffs and the early palæolithic man had not yet felt the need for storing provisions. The necessities of a nomad life and the want of permanent homes did not encourage the free development of domestic instincts on the part of the men; hence the matriarchal form of tribal life was first developed.

Another circumstance encouraged the formation of this type of life. Primitive man was not encumbered with elaborate forms of the marriage-rite. Love at first sight and its immediate consummation, followed perhaps very leisurely by a tribal feast, constituted the wedding ceremony. The marriage tie we may take it, was not always of a very permanent character. This cause, and more especially the want of development of personal property and the lack of attachment to a permanent abode, encouraged the persistence of the matriarchate for very long ages.

Love of personal adornment has always characterised men and more especially women. The Kuṛavar women, then as now, spent their leisure moments in picking shells and stringing them together for the purpose

of making garlands of them for decorating their persons. Their lovers presented them with trophies of the hunt, like the teeth of the tiger which they shot, and these, worn round the neck, became in much later times the prototype of the tāli, the pendant attached to a string or a necklace, which is to-day much prized in South India as the symbol of a wedded woman whose spouse is alive. Another kind of personal adornment was the leaf-garment, a number of leaves tied together with a bit of dried creeper and worn round the waist, a custom which still prevails among the most primitive of the hill tribes of South India.

The desert dweller:

The Pālai, the dry sandy desert, can scarcely be considered as one of the habitable regions of the earth's surface. When drawn by the chase of the wild animals, the sturdy hunter would be compelled to make a temporary abode in the Pālai region. But the call of the desert finds an echo in the bosoms of those who are born with a love of adventure, and wander-lust is the main motive power that inspires the lives of many men who possess strong sinews and a stout heart. The men who lived in the desert region either for a short time or all their lives were Maṛavar, men of Maṛam, heroism, and Kaḷvar, the strong men, (from kaḷ, strength, whence kaḷiṛu, the elephant, the strong animal par excellence, also the shark, and kaḷ, liquor, the strength-giver, and kaḷam, the field of battle). The Pālai region being infertile and its men being noted for prowess in arms, the Maṛavar and the Kaḷvar took in later times to the profession of soldiering and of preying on the rich, but weakly, inhabitants of other regions and Maṛam has come to mean cruelty, and Kaḷvar, thieves. But in

early times men took to the Pālai regions chiefly on account of their love of adventure. Life in these regions must have accentuated the matriarchal organisation of tribal life, for while the men were roving through the desert, the women and children were thrown into each other's company to enjoy whatever domestic amenities were available.

The herdsman:

When human beings multiplied in the Kuriñji regions and the available food supply began to shrink, they migrated to the next region, the Mullai or forest land. By that time they had taken the next great step in the advancement of human culture, the domestication of animals like the buffalo, the cow, the sheep and the goat, the dog, so useful to the hunter, having already been domesticated in the Kuṛavar stage. This led to the second rung in the ladder of human progress, the pastoral culture. Cattle breed fast, especially in the Mullai, and hence arose the institution of private property, the possession of which facilitated the fission of tribes into families.

The primitive form of what may be called natural marriage, the union of lovers at first sight, unimpeded by the observance of marriage rites and formalized merely by the presentation of a tāli of tiger's teeth and a garment of strung leaves for the waist, was called Kaḷavu in early Tamil literature, and was, in the pastoral regions, slowly replaced by Kaṛpu in which the marriage-ritual preceded the consummation of love. The essential portion of this ceremony was the feasting of the men and women of the tribe underneath a pandal, the ordinary tenement of pastoral men, decorated with flowers and

leaves, before the consummation of marriage took place. The institution of the Kaṛpu form of marriage and the development of private property led to the evolution of the patriarchal form of society; for the father of the family, being the possessor of a large, growing herd of cattle, acquired the great influence which the possession of wealth gives. The joint family system now arose, because pasture lands, parcelled out into tiny bits, would become too small to maintain a flock: and the family which resulted from the sub-division of the tribe, could maintain itself against competition, only if its members held together and constituted a growing unit. The patriarchal head of a large family developed into a king. That the institution of kingship in the Tamil country first arose among the pastoral tribes in Mullai land, is registered in the Tamil language by the fact that the word for a king, kōn, also means a herdsman, and that for a queen, āycci, means a herdswoman[3].

Pastoral life outside India, as in the steppes of Central Asia, differed from the life of the men of Mullai, the South Indian herdsmen, in two respects: (1) the use of tents, (2) the constant shifting of the herdsman tribes from one patch of grass land to another. The invention of tents was needless in South India on account of the equability of the climate all the year round. A few fan-like palmyra leaves thrown on a frame of dried sticks propped up by a few bamboo pillars and topped by a broken pot proved enough to

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[3] The word kōn seems to be derived from kōl, rod, the badge of the herdsman. The royal sceptre was but the rod of the tender of cattle and sheep which became the symbol of authority.

afford shelter to man and beast; and the fertility of the soil and the periodicity of the monsoon ensured the growth of pasture on the same spot year after year. So that it was not necessary as in the Northern steppes to break tent when the grass round a settlement was eaten up by the herd or parched up by the summer sun, and to seek pastures new. The pastoral life of South India hence was not semi-nomad but a settled life capable of developing the amenities of civilisation.

The life of ease made possible by the leisurely tendance of cattle in the forest led to the invention of the flute, the kuḻal. The flute was a bit of bamboo with a few holes drilled along its length and from it was produced mellifluous music which relieved the cowherd from the ennui due to the long hours of waiting while the cattle grazed.

One section of the pastoral people formed the Kuṛumbar who tended the short-legged well-fleeced variety of sheep called the kuṛumbāḍu. They learned to weave kambaḷi from the wool of their sheep and even to-day these Kuṛumbar inhabit the Mullai regions of the Madras Presidency and follow their traditional occupation of kambaḷi-weaving, though the irrepressible steam-engine has now established itself in Mullai tracts and the weaving of wool with the power-loom is depriving the Kuṛumbar, as also other kinds of handicraftsmen, of their age-long means of earning their daily bread.

Fisher-folk:

The next region to be occupied was the Neydal, the sea-board. The broad bosom of the sea, heaving and falling as if animated, invited the adventure-loving men with broad chests and finely-chiselled muscles to court

its dangers and venture forth to obtain its inexhaustible wealth of tasty fish. From fishing near the coast, they went on to fish in deeper waters. Hence the environment turned the Paradavar, as the inhabitants of the littoral tracts were called, into boat-builders and fishermen. The first boats were primitive canoes made of two logs bound together to form a float; and the tōṇi, wicker-work basket covered with hide, or coracle, followed next. The chief produce of this region was fish and salt. The Paradavar had to take them into the interior and barter them for other forms of food-stuff. Their environment made the Paradavar into merchants. Placing their wares in double bags on the backs of oxen as their modern-day descendants, the Balijis, do to day, they trudged along the marshy paths and exchanged their goods for the produce of the riverine plains. From the Paradavar also rose the race of ancient Indian sailors who, later, carried Indian goods in boats to Africa and Arabia in the West and to Malaya and China in the East.

Ploughmen:

The last region to be occupied was the Marudam, the low-lying plains between the Mullai and the Neydal, and that was at the close of the palæolithic period. With the neolithic age began modern civilization. The domestication of plants, especially the rice, the plantain, the sugar-cane and the mango, which probably began in the relatively settled life of the pastoral stage was completed in this.

The arability of the land in this region taught the Uḻavar, the ploughmen of the Marudam, the method of raising cereals after ploughing the ground, and the easy slope of the land in the margin of the rivers taught the

Veḷḷāḷar, the rulers of the flood, the method of conveying the life-giving water to their fields. Beyond the trough of the river-bed lived the Kārāḷar, the rulers of the clouds, those who stored rain-water in tanks and conveyed them to fields through irrigation-channels or lifted the water from wells and springs by water-lifts and irrigated the plots they cultivated. Thus were the arts of agriculture developed to such perfection in early days that modern science can add but little to the traditional wisdom of the South Indian farmer. Beyond the river-valleys lay the land whose soil was made by the mixture of the rain-washed detritus of the trap rock of the Western Ghats and the decaying vegetation of the Daṇḍaka forest. This was the birth-place of the cotton plant and neolithic man learnt to spin the cotton fibre into thread and weave the thread into cotton cloth.

Men now began to build houses of timber wherein to stock their superfluous store of food grain and cotton cloth. The barter of superfluous articles for things which were not easily available in the Marudam region, like the salt and the sea-fish, with the Paradavar, and milk and milk-products, especially ghee, with the Iḍaiyar, and stones and stone tools (and after the discovery of iron, iron-tools) with the Kuṛavar, led to the development of carts for transport by land, and the circle of the evolution of civilisation was complete. The perfection of neolithic culture and the arts and industries of the Marudam region represent the last really great step in human civilisation; for, since neolithic times, no new food-producing plants have been domesticated and no new process of making cloth to cover the body has been invented. The discovery of metals, from iron in ancient times to aluminium in our own times, and the invention

of steam and oil-gas engines and electrically propelled machines, have but rendered, quick and easy, ancient methods of agriculture and manufacture and speeded up transport, but they have not produced either new food-stuffs or new means of shielding the skin from the sun and rain and changes of atmospheric temperature.

Where this evolution first took place:

The five sub-divisions of the habitable regions occur contiguous to each other and in a small fraction of the earth's surface in India south of the Vindhyas. It is therefore easy to understand how increase of population and alterations in the natural supply of food-stuffs brought about here at different periods the migration of men from region to region and the consequent development of the different stages of human culture, the hunter, the nomad, the pastoral, the coastal and the agricultural, due to the differing stimuli provided by the changing milieu; in other words, the geographical control of the growth of human civilisation can be worked out and set forth clear as on a map by a study of man's progress in this restricted portion of the surface of the earth. Outside India, these five natural regions occur on a vast scale, e.g., the Mullai, the vast steppe land extending from the Carpathians to the foot hills of the Altais, the Kuṛiñji or the great mountain chain from the Pyrenees to the Himalayas and beyond, forming a grand girdle round the waist of mother earth, the Neydal, the coasts of the Mediterranean sea, and the Indian and the Atlantic oceans, and the Pālai, the great desert of Sahara and its continuation in Arabia, Persia and Mongolia. Did the the passage from stage to stage of civilization first occur in the restricted region of South India and thence spread

to the vaster tracts beyond or vice-versa? The problem is almost insoluble at present. But it may be pointed out that the migration of population from region to region and the consequent development of higher and higher forms of culture is more likely to have taken place in a restricted portion of the earth's surface where such migration is easy, than in tracts of immense extent. It will help us to understand the ancient history of man if we imagine that nature's laboratory was, and her first experiments in human culture with the geographic forces available to her were conducted in, Dakṣiṇāpatha, India south of the Vindhyas, and not in the great physiographic divisions of Eurasia and Africa. It is more likely that these different cultures of ancient times sent out offshoots to appropriate regions outside India so that Nature might reproduce on a larger scale what she had succeeded in achieving on a smaller scale in India, than that she produced these cultures on a magnificent scale outside India and then squeezed minified copies of each stage of civilization into Southern India so as to make it a complete anthropological museum. This is of course but speculation. After all it may turn out that Nature produced similar cultures independently of each other in different places where the same geographical causes operated.

Early Tamil Poetry:

Besides cooking and clothing, another great invention of man is speech. Speech may be either rhythmic or arhythmic. Whether prose preceded poetry in speech as is assumed by most people, or whether, as is more probable, poetry and prose were later differentiations of an original method of speech which was partly rhythmic and partly arhythmic,

it is difficult to determine: but it is certain that in the development of literature, poetry preceded prose by long ages. The words paṇ and pāṇ, meaning a piece of music, (whence pāḍu, to sing, pāṭṭu, a song) belong to the earliest stratum of Tamil, proving that singing was one of the earliest recreations of the Tamils. The Pāṇar, originally singers and after the institution of kingship in the pastoral stage of culture, royal bards and panegyrists, followed an ancient and honoured, though ill-rewarded, profession among the Tamils. The ancient Pāṇars were the friends and counsellors of kings during the long ages when pure Tamil culture flourished; but when Aryan culture from North India mingled with that of South India during historic times, the persistence of the Pāṇar in the over-indulgence in meat-food, especially beef, and the drinking of ardent spirits brought about their social degradation into one of the lowest and most untouchable castes of South India.

Thus grew, without a history the Tamils of the earliest ages. Their gradual rise in the scale of civilization can be traced from their language and from the discoveries of the students of their prehistoric culture. They first emerge into history, when traces of their trade with Northern India and beyond are noticed in the earliest of the literatures of the world—the Vedas—and the earliest historical documents of the world—the inscriptions of the Mesopotamian valley.

CHAPTER II

INTERCOURSE WITH NORTH INDIA IN THE EARLY AGES (CIRCA 3000—2000 B.C.)

The isolation of South India, a false theory:

V. A. Smith says, "Geographical conditions divided Indian History, until the nineteenth century, into three well-marked territorial compartments ... (1) the northern plains forming the basins of the Indus and the Ganges, (2) the Deccan plateau lying to the South of the Narbadā, and to the north of the Krishnā and Tungabhadrā rivers, and (3) the far-south, beyond those rivers, comprising the group of Tamil states. Ordinarily, each of these geographical compartments had a distinct, highly complex story of its own. The points of contact between the three histories are not very numerous." Thus does this author justify the fact that in his Oxford History of India he gives "only a secondary place to the story of the Deccan plateau and the far south."[1] To explain this attitude further he says that the South "was shut off by the wide and almost impenetrable barrier of hill and forest, represented by the Narbadā, the Vindhya and the Sātpura ranges. It is worth while to dwell upon the natural separation of the north from the south even in the most remote ages, because the roots of the present go down into the past to a depth far beyond any measurement." He adds that the penetration of the Deccan by Indo-Aryan emissaries "was a peaceful one

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[1] Oxf. Hist. of India, pp. i-iii.

and "the chief line of communication was always along the eastern coast."[2] D. R. Bhandarkar has challenged the correctness of the line of communication suggested by V. A. Smith He has quoted a story from the Suttanipāta, which describes the itinerary of the pupils of a Brāhmaṇa teacher called Bāvarī. Bāvarī was "settled near a village on the Godhāvarī in the Assaka (Aśmaka) country" in the Dakṣiṇāpatha. He "sent his sixteen pupils to pay their homage to Buddha" and they travelled north to Patiṭṭhāna of the Muḷaka country (now Paiṭhan in the Nizam's Dominions), then Māhissatī (Māhiṣmatī, identified with Māndhāta on the Narmadā on the borders of the Indore State), Ujjenī, and Sāketa and beyond[3]. From this D. R. Bhandarkar rightly infers that from Māhiṣmatī the pupils must have crossed to the other side of the Vindhyas through the Vidarbha country. He concludes that the route taken by the Aryans when they went south "seems to have lain through the Avanti country, the southernmost town of which was Māhissatī or Māndhāta on the Narmadā, from where the Aryans crossed the Vindhyas and penetrated South India"[4] D. R. Bhandarkar mentions also another route "by which the Aryans seem to have gone to South India" and that was by the sea. "They appear to have sailed from the Indus to Kachcha, and from there by sea-coast to Surāṣṭra or Kāṭhiāwāṛ, from Kāṭhiāwāṛ to Bharukachcha or modern Broach, from Bharukachcha to Suppāraka or Sopārā in the Thāṇa district of the Bombay Presidency."[5]

[2] Ib. p. 14.

[3] Carm. Lec. 1918, pp, 4-5.

[4] Ib. p. 22.

[5] Ib. p. 23.

Thus the theory that the Vindhyas and the Daṇḍakāraṇya forest formed an insurmountable barrier between North and South India, is not true. And, if we consider certain facts attested to by the Vedic mantras, we have to conclude that there must have been extensive commercial intercourse between Āryāvartta and Dakṣiṇāpatha from the beginning of the Vedic Age, and Smith's theory of the isolation of India South of the Vindhyas is baseless.

South India in the Vedas:

The earliest reference to Southern India in Sanskrit literature is supposed to occur in the very obscure verse, Ṛg Veda x. 61.8, which says, saratpadā na dakṣi ṇā parāvṛṇ na tā nu me pṛśanyo jagṛbhre. Sayana interprets the word dakṣiṇā here as a fee paid in cattle, following a legend narrated in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. But European scholars translate it as South, and Macdonell and Keith remark that dakṣiṇā padā, 'with Southward foot' refers "to the place where the exile (parāvṛj) goes on being expelled."[6]

That the interpretation of the passage by Macdonell and Keith is correct and that Dakṣiṇāpatha was regarded as a place of exile during the early Vedic Age when the Ārya cult had not penetrated beyond the Vindhyas is proved by the story of Viśvāmitra and his sons. The story is narrated in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, but this does not mean that the events narrated in the story were contemporaneous with that Brāhmaṇa. It is an ancient story relating to the age of the first Viśvāmitra, the Ṛṣi of the Gāyatrī mantra, who lived

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[6] Vedic Index, Vol. i. p. 337.

about 2500 B. C. This Viśvāmitra, when he rescued his grand-nephew Śunaḥśepa from being immolated as a victim in a human sacrifice performed at the instance of Rohita, son of Hariśchandra, adopted the released victim as his son and gave him the name of Devarāta. Fifty of Viśvāmitra's natural sons protested against Śunaḥśepa's elevation to the place of the eldest son of the family and Viśvāmitra, never noted for much self-restraint, cursed them, saying antān vaḥ prajā bhakṣiṣṭa. This is rendered by Keith, 'Your offspring shall inherit the ends of the earth,' but Sayana interprets 'antān bhakṣiṣṭa' as ' caṇḍālādi rūpam nīcajāti viśeṣam bhajatām, 'they shall become Anāryas (Dasyus).' Sayana's is much the better interpretation, for the Brāhmaṇa adds 'ta etendhrāh puṇḍrāh śabarāh pulindā mūtibā ityudantyā bahavo vaiśvāmitrā dasyūnām bhūyiṣṭhāḥ,' ' these are the (people) Andhras, Puṇḍras, Sabaras, Pulindas, and Mūtibas, who live in large numbers beyond the borders ; most of the Dasyus are the descendants of Viśvāmitra'.[7]

The outcaste went South because the Vindhyas were the Southern boundary of the holy land (puṇyabhūmiḥ) of Āryāvartta and he who was bereft of the benefit of the Arya rites had necessarily to go south. Long after the period when the composition of the Vedic Mantras ceased, the Vindhyas were still held to shut in the Aryan world, for the Kausītakī Upaniṣad says that both the mountains—the Southern and the Northern, (*i.e.*, the Himalayas and the Vindhyas) by rolling themselves desiring to lay him low cannot destroy one who knows the relations between Prāṇa (cosmic and indivi-

[7] Ait. Brāh. vii. 18.

dual) and the manifested powers[8]. In the Manu Smṛti the tradition is repeated that the tract between these two mountains where the black antelope naturally roams, the wise call Āryāvartta (*i.e.*, it is an ancient tradition), and the tract different from it is the country of the mlecchas ; twice-born men ought to live only there[9]. Thus even in the age when the Manu Smṛti, as we now have it, was compiled (and that must have been a time when Brāhmaṇas had spread over the whole of India), the tradition about the limits of Āryāvartta within whose boundaries alone Brāhmaṇas could reside, was being repeated as authoritative on account of the antiquity of the idea.

Pearls :

Notwithstanding the fact that, for religious purposes, the Ṛsis confined the Āryas to Āryāvartta, there must have been, from the earliest times, much commercial intercourse between Āryāvartta and Dakṣiṇāpatha[10], as they

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[8] Kauṣītakī Upaniṣad, ii. 12. 13.

[9] Tayor evāntaro giryor āryāvarttam vidur budhāḥ kṛṣṇā sārastu carati mṛigo yatra svabhāvataḥ......etān dvijātayo deśān. Manu, II. 22,24.

[10] Dakṣiṇāpatha was contracted into dakṣiṇa, the south. This word, in Prakrit dakkhiṇa, later became dakkhin, which was the name of India south of the Vindhyas. The English people, perhaps following the lead of Mussulman historians, have turned it into the Deccan and changed its meaning. They have excluded the southernmost portion of South India, the country South of the Kṛṣṇā which the Ṛṣis generally thought of when they talked of South India, from the connotation of the word Deccan, and restricted it to the plateau and

called South India, for one of the articles much used for decoration in the Vedic Age was the product of the extremest south, viz.; the pearl. Here are a few extracts from some of the mantras, which refer to the wide use of pearls in the Vedic Age. 'The car (of Savitā) was decked with pearl of various colours' [11]. The decoration of divine cars was an imitation of that of royal chariots which were decorated with pearls. The horses that dragged them were also decked with pearls; kṛśanebhiraśvan[12]. The steeds were kṛśanavataḥ [13], kṛśaninaḥ [14]. The use of the pearl and the mother of pearl was so great that the small supply of inferior pearls from the Ganges could scarcely have met the demand and hence pearls must have been carried from South India to the North. One whole sūkta of the Atharva Veda Samhita called the Śaṅkhamaṇi sūkta, recited when wearing an amulet of mother of pearl, thus eulogises the pearl. 'Born out of the atmosphere, out from the light of the lightning, let this golden shell, of pearl, protect us [15].' 'Thou art conspicuous on the chariot, lustrous on the

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invented the phrase 'far south' to represent the Southernmost part of the peninsula.

[11] Abhīvṛtam kṛśanair viśvarūpam... ratham. R.V. i. 33. 4

[12] R. V. x. 68. 11.

[13] R. V. i. 126. 4.

[14] R. V. vii. 18. 23.

[15] Vātājjāto antarikṣād vidyuto jyotiṣaspari sa no hiraṇyayā śaṅkhaḥ kṛśanaḥ pātvaṃhasaḥ. A. V. iv. 10. 1.

quiver, thou [16]', 'When the ocean roared against Parjanya with lightning, therefrom was born the golden drop [17]'. Whitney has pointed out that the last of the mantras quoted as well as the first of the Śaṅkhamaṇi sūkta allude to the belief that pearls originated by the transformation of rain drops falling into the sea. This is a bit of folk-biology which originated in the extreme south of India where the pearl oysters have been gathered from the bed of the sea from time immemorial. We can easily understand that there must have been considerable intercourse between North India and South India to enable pearls to have been carried in the large quantities needed for decorating not only the persons of men and women, but their cars, horses, quivers and other articles, and for folk-lore to accompany that article to the land of the Ṛṣis.

The derivation of the word Kṛśana is worth considering. It is apparently derived from kṛś, 'to become lean and emaciated'; possibly the name was given to it because if exposed to the atmosphere for a very long period of time, pearl gradually wastes away, unlike other gems. If this is correct etymology, kṛśana is a very poetical name for the pearl and must have been given to it after a long experience of its use. Another Sanskrit name for it is muktā. This word occurs in the form vimuktā once in the Vedic literature.[17] Vimuktā is explained as 'secreted' (in the

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[16] Rathe tvamasi darśata iṣudhau rocanas tvam. Ib. 6.

[17] Yat samudro abhyakrandat parjanyo vidyutā saḥ tato hiraṇyayo bindustato garbho ajāyata. Ib. xix 30. 5. Ṣaḍviṃśa Brāhmaṇa v. 6.

oyster) by Macdonell and Keith [18] and muktā, as 'released' from the oyster, by Monier Williams in his Sanskrit Dictionary, but I am sure that muktā is but the Tamil word muttam, pearl, borrowed and Sanskritised.

It is interesting to compare the Vedic references to the pearl by people who had but seen the pearl as a means of decoration and who had heard vague tales of rain drops turning into pearls in the interior of the oyster, with the following image from a poem composed by a poet familiar with the pearl in its native state within the oyster. He describes 'gems emitting rays while lying on bright, long layers of sand which were like the pearls in a mature long shell [19].

Gold and Diamonds:

Besides pearls, other South Indian articles were in demand in Āryāvartta. They were gold and diamonds, besides other things. Much gold was used in the Vedic times both for making ornaments and for coining. In the Vedic Index by Macdonell and Keith it is said, "It is hardly possible to exaggerate the value attached to gold by the the Vedic Indians ...... Golden treasures (hiranyāni) are mentioned as given by patrons...Gold was used for ornaments for neck and breast (niṣka), for ear-rings (karṇaśobhana) and even for cups...A gold currency was evidently beginning to be known in so

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Vedic Index, II p. 304.

[19] முதிர்வா ரிப்பி முத்த வார்மணற்
கதிர்விடு மணி, Puṛam, 53. ll. 1—2.

Puṛam 377 speaks of கடல் பயந்த கதிர் முத்தம் (l. 17), 'the many-rayed pearl born from the sea.' and the Perumbāṇāṟṟuppaḍai has முத்தவார் மணல் (l. 335), 'sand spread like pearls.'

far as definite weights of gold are mentioned; thus a weight, aṣṭāprūḍ, occurs in the Samhitas and the golden śatamāna, weight of a hundred kṛṣṇalas is found in the same texts."[20] D. R. Bhandarkar has conclusively proved that there were two types of metallic currency, stamped and unstamped, called respectively hiraṇya piṇḍa and niṣka in the age of the Ṛṣis[21]. Hence the gold dust which the North Indians got from the washing of the sands of the Indus[22] could not have sufficed for their purposes. This gold was called pipīlika, ant-like, from the size of the gold particles[23]. North Indians therefore had to import it

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[20] Vedic Index, II. 504-5, where the Vedic references are all given.

[21] Carm. Lec 1921, pp. 56-75.

[22] Washing for gold is recorded in Tait. Samh. vi.1.7.1, S'at. Brāh. ii.1.1.5. The Indus is called 'golden' and 'of golden stream:' R.V. x. 75.8, vi. 61.7, viii. 26.18. (Ved. Ind. op. cit.)

[23] Mahābhārata ii. 1860, says that gold raised from underneath the earth by ants, and therefore called after these creatures, was brought as tribute to Yudhiṣṭhira. The Greek writer, Megasthenes, turned this mild myth into the story that "on the eastern borders there is an elevated plateau about 3,000 stadia in circuit. Beneath the surface there are mines of gold, and accordingly are found the ants which dig for that metal. They are not inferior in size to wild foxes. They run with amazing speed, and live by the produce of the chase. The time when they dig is winter. They throw heaps of earth, as moles do, at the mouths of the mines. The gold dust has to be subjected to a little boiling. The people of

also from gold mines. So far the chief ancient gold diggings known are those of South India. Hence it is probable that South Indian gold was used in Āryāvartta.

We have the authority of Kauṭilya's Artha Śāstra for the fact that in the IV century B.C. there flourished a trade between South India and North India in shells of all kinds including mother of pearl, diamonds and other precious stones, pearls and gold, which were available in plenty in Dakṣiṇāpatha[24]. We can easily believe that this was no special mercantile development of the Maurya epoch, but a continuation of the trade of the Vedic times, for the men of the earlier epoch could not have got the articles from any other quarter of the globe.

Other articles:

Of the unguents and drugs so frequently referred to in the Atharva Veda, those with South Indian names must have also gone from Dakṣiṇāpatha. Besides these, one plant, lākṣā[25] and one bird, mayūra[26] have names which, I suspect, are derived from Tamil. But even without these etymological speculations there is ample evidence that there was considerable commercial intercourse between the Āryas of North India and the

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the neighbourhood, coming secretly with beasts of burden, carry this off". McCrindle, Anc. Ind. p. 95.

The boiling spoken of by Megasthenes perhaps refers to the extraction of gold by heating the śālagrāma, still being done in Tibet.

[24] Artha Śāstra vii. 12.

[25] A.V. v. 5-7.

[26] R.V. i. 191. 14

Dasyus of South India in the age of the Ṛṣis. The elephant is frequently mentioned in the Vedas, as the beast with the hand. They were probably got from the Vindhyan regions or from the regions further south[27]. There is no mention, so far as I know, of ivory carving in the Vedas. But carving is mentioned among decorations, e.g. 'Like two slight images of girls, unrobed, upon a new-wrought pillar.'[28] These images might have been of wood or gold or ivory. If the northerners did not practise ivory carving, it is impossible to guess what they made of the plentiful supply of ivory from the many elephants which were kept by kings. Ivory carving existed in the early stone age, many thousands of years before the Vedic times and could not have died out with the advance of civilization. In later times 'ivory worked into divers forms and shapes' is mentioned as the occupation of people in Benares, in the Silavanāga Jātaka, No. 72. This was certainly no new industry in the V or VI century B.C., when the story must have been current, before being absorbed in the Jātaka tales. Ivory, then, was probably another article of export from the South to the North of India.

Panis:

In several places I have argued that the Paṇis mentioned in the Vedic hymns were the traders who

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[27] In the II century B.C. elephants were sent from the Pāṇḍya country to Khāravela of Kaliṅga, and this was but a continuation of the trade in this animal, of more ancient times.

[28] R V. iv. 32. 23.

supplied these articles to the Āryas. [29] In this I find I was mistaken, having been misled by European scholars, such as Griffith, Macdonell, etc. On a careful re-perusal of the mantras where the word Paṇi occurs, I find that they were neither traders nor atmospheric demons who stole the clouds and prevented rainfall as they have been explained to be, but that they were one of the several clans of Dasyus who were opposed to the Aryas. They were neither traders nor demons, but agriculturists who hoarded wealth [30] consisting in horse and cattle. Their wealth of kine was kept in caves [31]. This has been misinterpreted as fiends secreting rays of light. This misinterpretation is due to the ignorance of a well-known custom of ancient India, both Aryan and Dravidian. We learn from the Tolkāppiyam, a work that contains references to very old Indian customs, that lifting the enemy's cattle was the ancient method of beginning hostilities and this was called veṭci, and veṭci in war poems had the hill-country as its terrain.

The Paṇis were a tribe rich in cattle which they kept in caves ; and they were the enemies of certain Āryas and these two began war with each other by the time-honoured method of lifting cattle In one such war, not a war of invasion as European scholars would have it, Agni and Soma, i.e. worshippers, who relied

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[29] Life in Ancient India, pp 16, Indian Hist. Quarterly, Vol. I, p. 695, Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture, p. 80.

[30] R V. i. 83. 4, i. 32. 11, ii. 24.9

[31] R. V. ii. 24.6, iv. 58.4.

on these Gods for help, stole the kine from the Paṇis.[32] Indra, or acting on his behalf, Bṛhaspati, stole the kine of the Paṇis[33]. Thus the Paṇis seem to have been a tribe of Dasyus, who w[illegible]re rich in cattle, and not traders at all. South India[illegible] trade in Vedic times was in the hands of merchants [illegible] lived on the sea-coast and were called Paradar f[illegible]ery early times.[34]

The Aryas in Cera:

There is a verse in R. V. VII. 101. 14 which says, prajā ha tisro atyāyam īyuḥ, 'three people transgressed.' Commenting on this the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka says, 'yā vaitā imāḥ prajās tisro atyāyam āyan tāni imāni vayāmsi vaṅgāvagadhās cerapādāḥ[35],' the three peoples who transgressed are the Vāyasas, Vaṅgāvagadhas and Cerapādas'. Sayana renders the last three words as birds, trees, plants and snakes, Ānandatīrtha as Piśacas, Rākṣasas and Asuras. Keith regards Vāyasas as people with bird-totems (as Matsyas, Ajas, etc., had other animal totems) the Vaṅgāvagadhas as possibly Vaṅgas and Magadhas, and Cerapādas as Ceras. Their transgression was the neglect of worshipping fire, as the context shows. I think that Keith's explanation is the right one. The Aryan culture reached the Cera country in early times in the wake of the migrations of Paraśurāma, as I shall show later on.

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[32] R. V. i. 93.4

[33] R. V. x. 67.6

[34] Perumbāṇāṟṟuppaḍai (1.323) has பரதர் மலிந்த மாடம், 'mansions full of merchants.'

[35] Ait. Āraṇ. ii. 1·1 (Anecdota Oxoniensa, Keith)

Arya Kings South of the Vindhyas:

Now I shall discuss the extension of the power of Arya kings early in the Vedic Age into India south of the Vindhyas. From [illegible]e Puranas we learn that Arjuna Kārtavīrya was a con[illegible]nporary of Trayyāruna, grand-father of Hariścandr[illegible]e lived about thirty generations after the foundatio[illegible]he Solar line and about thirty generations befor[illegible]acandra i. e. at the end of the first third part of [illegible] Vedic epoch; Arjuna was a great conqueror, and was called both a Samrāṭ and a Cakravartī. He raised the Haihaya power to pre-eminence during a long reign. In addition to bringing the whole of North India under his sway, he captured Māhiṣmatī [36] from the Kārkoṭaka Nāgas, a great Dasyu tribe of the Dakṣiṇāpatha, and made it his fortress-capital. Among others he defeated a Rāvaṇa, king of Lanka, and imprisoned him in Māhiṣmatī [37]. This Rāvaṇa was certainly not the enemy of Rāmacandra who lived at least five hundred years later. Hence the Rāvaṇa who was imprisoned by Kārttavīrya must have been an earlier Rāja of that name or perhaps the guess of Dr. Sten Konow is true, that the name, Rāvaṇa, was but the result of the Sanskritization of Tamil iṛaivan [38] and merely meant a Tamil king.

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[36] The town of Māhiṣmatī was built long before this age by Mahiṣmān who lived about a hundred years before Viśvāmitra. It was probably taken by the Nāgas and Arjuna captured it from them.

[37] Pargiter. Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, pp. 265-266. The Puranic references are given fully in Pargiter's footnotes.

[38] J. R. A. S. 1914, p. 285. There was a still earlier Rāvaṇa who fought with Anaraṇya, king of Ayodhyā. Vide Pargiter, op. cit. p. 263.

This Arjuna or his sons raided the hermitage of Jamadagni, the Bhārgava Ṛṣi, ill-treated him and carried off his calf; Jamadagn 's son, the redoubted Rāma, declared war against them nd slew many of them and the Haihayas. Rāma an he Bhārgavas were supported by the princes of Ay ī and Kānyakubja, who were allied to them by ma [39]. Rāma Jāmadagnya, later called Paraśurām distinguish him from Rāma Dāśarathī, killed Arjun many Haihayas. After his military exploits Rāma retired to the West Coast where the sea retired a few miles to provide him with a bit of territory;[40] possibly the advent of Rāma to the Koṅkaṇ and the Malabar coast took place at a time when the Western sea retreated a few miles, exposing the narrow strip of land between itself and the Western Ghats; and hence arose the persistent association of Paraśurāma's name with the recovery of Koṅkaṇ and Malabar in numerous legends. Paraśurāma was probably the first Ṛṣi that carried the Vedic fire-cult to the South of India.

Contemporary with Paraśurāma was Viśvāmitra of Kānyakubja. The story of his banishing fifty of his sons to the regions beyond the Vindhyas has already been referred to. The Vaiśvāmitras spread the Ārya cult in the Dakṣiṇāpatha. D. R. Bhandarkar makes a curious statement about the banished sons of Viśvāmitra. He says that they "married and mixed freely with the aborigines, with the object of diffusion of Aryan culture amongst them[41]. That the Vaiśvāmitras married Dasyu wives is probably true, because they were unmarried

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[39] Pargiter, op. cit. p. 267.

[40] Ib. op. cit. pp. 190-200.

[41] Carmichael Lectures, 1928, p. 21.

when they were cursed by their irate parent, but that they did so for the purpose of civilizing the Dasyus is an absolutely unwarra[illegible]ted inference. Nor were the Dasyus uncivilized [illegible]origines. Many scholars, on account of their ignor[illegible] of the great civilization reached by the Indians in [illegible] pre-Aryan epoch, evidence of which is found in [illegible]rtefacts of the neolithic period and in early [illegible] vocabulary and echoes of which are foun[illegible]ater Tamil literature[42], and on account of their disregarding the Vedic references to Dasyu culture, have invented the legend of the savage Dasyu. The traditional holiness of Āryāvartta and the exaggerated tales of Rākṣasa cruelty which abound in the ancient legends have helped to confirm this wrong view. When the Ṛṣis speak of the Dasyus, we should remember that they speak of their enemies and hence we should make allowance for exaggeration due to animosity. We should also not forget that both in the Vedic mantras and in the Epic and Puranic legends, side by side with denunciations of the savagery of the Dasyus and Rākṣasas, there are innumerable passages referring to their high civilization, their castles, their gold ornaments, their wealth, etc. Hence they were not barbarous aborigines waiting to be civilized by Aryan exiles or stray Aryan immigrants.

The holiness of Āryāvartta has also misled investigators into the wrong notion that the Dakṣiṇa country was rigidly isolated from the North and that the early Aryan Rājas confined their ambition to the land north of the Vindhyas throughout the long ages when

[42] Vide my Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture

the Ṛṣis of the Vedic mantras flourished, i.e., from the time of Ikṣvāku to that of the Mahābhārata war (from 3000 B. C. to 1400 B. C. according to my scheme of ancient Indian chronology). Says D. R. Bhandarkar, "It was in the Brāhmaṇa period, however, that they (i. e. the Āryas) for the first time seem to have crossed the Vindhya range which separates the South from the North half of India. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, e.g., a prince named Bhīma is designated Vaidarbha, prince of Vidarbha. This shows that the Aryans had come down below the Vindhyas and settled in Vidarbha or Western Berars immediately to the south of this mountain range"[44]. This is a specimen of the wrong application of the critical method of historical investigation.

Because the Aitareya Brāḥmaṇa mentions the name Bhīma Vaidarbha and the Ṛg Veda mantras do not, the Aryan Rājas had just then crossed the Vindhyas. Bhīma might have lived one thousand years before the Aitareya Brāḥmaṇa was composed, but yet he had just crossed the Vindhyas when it mentions him. The Brāḥmaṇas record traditions which had been floating down the river of time during the ninety to hundred royal generations that elapsed from the age when Ikṣvāku and Purūravas founded the Solar and Lunar dynasties respectively and the mention of a person in those books does not mean that he was a contemporary of the authors of those books. As a matter of fact Bhīma or Bhīmaratha of Vidarbha was contemporary of Ayutāyus of Ayodhyā who was older than Rāma by about fifteen generations and Bṛhadbala of the age of the Mahābhārata by more than forty generations. The bulk of the Aitareya

[44]. Carm. Lect. 1918. p. 2

and other early Brāhmaṇas was composed sometime after Veda Vyāsa who belonged to the Mahābhārata epoch had closed the Vedic canon by compiling the Samhitās. Thus Bhīma lived more than a thousand years before the age of the Brāhmaṇas and the Vindhyas had been crossed and Vidarbha founded about ten generations before Bhīma. Jyāmagha, a Yādava prince was expelled by his elder brother and sought his fortune southward in the hilly upper region of the Narmadā inhabited by Nāgas and other Dasyus. He led a predatory life there. He or his son Vidarbha moved south and carved a kingdom on the Taptī and the country and its capital were called after him Vidarbha[45]. Long after him reigned Bhīmaratha.

Not only Vidarbha but other Aryan states had been established in early times in the Vindhya regions. Dakṣiṇa Kosala, Cedi, Daśārna, Niṣadha, besides Vidarbha, all at the foot of the Vindhyas, were Aryan settlements in the middle of the Vedic period. Kaśu, Rāja of Cedi, is mentionad in the Ṛg Veda [46]; there is an interesting description of the kings of Cedi, Daśārna, Vidarbha, Southern Kosala etc., in the Naḷopākhyāna of the Mahābhārata, and the Caidya kings are mentioned in the Puranas. Indrasēna, the wife of Mudgala, drove her husband's chariot in a fight with the Dasyus[47]. It is no wonder she did so, for she was the danghter of Naḷa, famous for his skill in driving chariots[48]. Ṛtuparṇa, Nala's friend, was king of Daksiṇa Kosala. Vidarbha was a contiguous province. Hence

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[45] Pargiter. op cit. p. 269.

[46] R.V. viii. 5.37.

[47] R.V. x. 102.2.

[48] MhB. III. 114.24.

a portion of the Dakṣiṇāpatha was acquired by Aryan Rājas[49], long before Rāma's time. All the while the people of Tamil India were pursuing their lives, each in their own region, as described in the last chapter; they traded with the peoples of the North, but their culture, called Dasyu by the Northerners, was not influenced by the fire-cult of Aryāvartta, though this culture slowly crept in this period across the Vindhyas.

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[49] Vide Sitanath Pradhan, Chronology of Ancient India, Chapters I, XII and XVII.

CHAPTER III

FOREIGN TRADE IN EARLY TIMES.

South India and Sumeria :

It was pointed out in Chapter I that trade began as a mattor of necessity in the Neydal or coast region. A large part of the Tamil conntry is near the sea and the inhabitants of the coastal districts have been called from early times Paradavar or sailors. The Paradavar of the coasts of South India must have early discovered the periodicity of the monsoons; indeed it is impossible to live in the Malabar country for a year without understanding this phencmenon and the possibilities of sea-travel it implies. Even when advantage was not taken of the monsoons, sailors could go along hugging the shore up to the coasts of Afghanistan and Persia. Extensive travels by land and sea in very early times can alone have made possible the colonization of the Mesopotamian valley by the Tamils, which, according to a recent theory, gave birth to the ancient Sumerian civilization of that region. Says H. R. Hall, "the ethnic type of the Sumerians, so strongly marked in their statues and reliefs was as different from those of the races which surrounded them as was their language from those of the Semites, Aryans or others; they were decidedly Indian in type. The face-type of the average Indian of to-day is no doubt much the same as that of his Dravidian race-ancestors thousands of years ago. Among the modern Indians as amongst the

modern Greeks or Italians the ancient pre-Aryan type of the head has survived (as the primitive type of the head has always done), while that of the Aryan conqueror died out long ago. And it is to this Dravidian ethnic type of India that the ancient Sumerian bears most resemblance, so far as we can judge from his monuments. He was very like a Southern Hindu of the Dekkan (who still speaks Dravidian languages). And it is by no means improbable that the Sumerians were an Indian tribe which passed, certainly by land, perhaps also by sea, through Persia to the valley of the Two Rivers. [In his footnotes to the words 'land' and 'sea' in this sentence, he says, 'we have at the present day a Dravidian population in Baluchistan, the Brahuis; the Dravidian type has been noted in Southern Persia; and there can be little doubt that the non-Aryan peoples of Ancient Persia (the Anariakoi of the Greeks) were of the same race, forming a connecting link between Babylonia and India.' 'The legend of Oannes, the man-Fish quoted by Berossus, argues an early maritime connection with a civilized land over sea. Oannes swam up the Persian gulf to the earliest Sumerian cities (Eridu and the rest), bringing with him the arts of civilization.'] It was in the Indian home (perhaps the Indus valley) that we suppose that their culture was developed. There their writing may have been invented, and progressed from a purely pictorial to a simplified and abbreviated form, which afterwards in Babylonia took on its peculiar 'cuneiform' (wedge-shaped) appearance owing to its being written with a square-ended stilus on soft clay. On the way they left the seeds of their culture in Elam. This seems a plausible theory of Sumerian origins and it must be clearly understood

that it is offered by the present writer merely as a theory, which has no direct evidence to back it, but seems possible."[1]

Moheñjo-Daro :

Within twelve years of the publication of Hall's book, the "direct evidence to back" his theory was furnished by the excavations of Harappa and Moheñjo Daro and what was "possible" in his view has become probable. Specimens of the writing he spoke of have been found and ample relics of the advanced civilization of the Indus valley have been recovered. The "trenches revealed the presence of successive layers of buildings of the chalcolithic" period. Certain figures have been found in Moheñjo Daro of crude workmanship and archaic appearance ; but "the very prominent nose and the use of flattened pellets of clay for the eyes is a feature of very similar figures of early date from Mesopotamia."[2] Notwithstanding these and many other discoveries, the definite proof of Sumerian culture being an outflow of the ancient culture of the Indus valley can be obtained only when the writings discovered at Moheñjo Daro have been finally read and deciphered.

Ancient Trade with Babylonia :

If there was intercourse between the Indus valley and Sumeria, there must have been greater intercourse between these two districts and South India. Evidence of this is found in two facts mentioned by Sayce. One is that Indian teak was found in the ruins of Ur (Mugheir), which was the capital of the Sumerian kings

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[1] H. R. Hall. The Ancient History of the Near East, pp. 173-4.

[2] Archæological Survey of India. Annual report, 1925-26, pp. 72-98.

in the IV millennium B.C. and the other is that the word sindhu or muslin is mentioned in an ancient Babylonian list of clothing.[3] The occurrence of s' in the word proves that this muslin did not go to Mesopotamia via Persia, for then 's' would have become 'h' in Persian months, as the name of this country, derived from the name of the river Sind, became Hind. I therefore conclude that muslin went direct by sea from the Tamil Coast to the Persian Coast and the Babylonian word sindu for muslin is not derived from the name of the river (as has been supposed) but from the old Dravidian word, 'sindi', which is still found in Tulu and Canarese, and means 'a piece of cloth' and is represented by the Tamil word 'ṣindu', a flag.

Ancient trade with Egypt:

Not only was there commercial intercourse between the Tamil country and the Mesopotamian valley, but there is some evidence that the trade of South India extended to Egypt in the III millennium B.C. Says W. H. Schoff, "thousands of years before the emergence of the Greeks from savagery. . . . Egypt and the nations of Ancient India came into being, and a commercial system was developed for the interchange of products within those limits, having its centre of exchange near the head of the Persian gulf. The peoples of that region, the various Arab tribes and more especially those ancestors of the Phœnicians, the mysterious Red Men, were the active carriers or intermediaries. The growth of civilization in India created an active merchant marine, trading to the Euphrates and Africa, and eastwards we know not whither. The

[3] Sayce. Hibbert Lectures, pp. 136-138.

Arab merchants, apparently, tolerated the presence of Indian traders in Africa, but reserved for themselves the commerce within the Red Sea, that lucrative commerce which supplied precious stones and spices and incense to the ever increasing service of the gods of Egypt. This was their prerogative, jealously guarded, and upon this they lived and prospered according to the prosperity of the Pharaohs. The muslins and spices of India they fetched themselves or received from the Indian traders in their ports on either side of the gulf of Aden; carrying them in turn over the highlands to the upper Nile, or through the Red Sea and across the desert to Thebes or Memphis."[4] It may be added that the articles taken to Egypt by the Arab intermediaries were South Indian ones and that South Indian Paradavar took them in their boats to Aden and the East African coast.

"In the inscriptions of Harkhuf, an Assuan noble under [the Egyptian] king Mernere of the VI Dynasty (B. C. 2,600) occurs the following:—'I descended (from country of Yam, Southern Nubia) with 300 asses laden with incense, ebony, grain, panthers, ivory, throw-sticks and every good product." The ebony refered to may be African ebony; but it may also have been Indian ebony, which was superior to the African one and was in ancient times taken from India to the Persian gulf, whence the Arabians took it to the coast of Africa, and from there it was taken via the Upper Nile to Egypt, as it was in later times, i.e. 1,500 B. C.; and after this date Indian ebony was so popular that Theophrastus (IV century B.C.) ascribes the wood to India only and Virgil (Georgics ii, 116,7) speaks of it as peculiar to

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[4] Periplus, p. 3.

India.[5] In a later chapter it will be shown that grain and panthers were exported to Africa in later times. These two articles here mentioned may also have gone from South India.

In the VI dynasty, under Pepi II (XXVI century B. C.,) a royal officer, Sebni sent to the Tigre highlands, records how he descended to Wawat and Uthek, and sent on the royal attendant Iri, with two others, bearing incense, clothing (probaby cotton), one tusk and one hide."[6] Now the Deccan was the only part of the world where cotton cloth was woven in those far off days.

The ivory mentioned above was African but may also have been Indian. From early times Indian ivory was in demand, partly because it was finer than any other. Moreover it was easier to kill elephants in Indian forests than in the wilder, thicker, and more unhealthy African forests. The elephant-hunters of Abyssinia and Somaliland who supplied African ivory to the Egyptian Kings used adzes, axes and swords ; and India was the only country whence iron implements could have been imported in those times. In exchange for these, India imported from Africa incense and sweet-smelling gums, largely used in this country in the Vedic Age. There is record of the export of iron from India in the next age and we may well believe that this commerce existed in the earlier age.

The Vedic mantras refer to men who went to far off lands for "interchange of merchandise."[7] Traders

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[5] Schoff's Periplus, p. 61, 153, Warmington. Commerce between the Roman Empire and India, p. 213.

[6] Schoff's Periplus, p. 121.

[7] A. V. iii. 15.4.

"desiring wealth sent ships to sea;"[8] parties of merchants went on the ocean in ships with a hundred oars[9] to distant lands for sale and barter[10]. This of course does not refers to Tamil trade but if the Northern Ārya people traded to distant countries, the South Indian sailors must have been their teachers of the art of sailing: for the latter had developed from early times extensive sea-trade and the former were not sailors in early days.

Kennedy on Ancient trade:

Some writers, however, have argued against the existence of this trade. The chief of them is Kennedy. In his article on this subject[11] he has spent all the resources of his vast learning in trying to disprove that there was any Indian trade either with Egypt or Assyria before the VII century B. C. He ignores completely the passages of the Ṛg Veda and Atharva Veda mantras referring to merchants, sea-voyages and shipwrecks. He admits that the Indian people, especially of the coastal districts "were accustomed to the sea." He cannot deny that India produced in abundance hard timber necessary for building purposes and sweet-smelling woods useful for the preparation of the unguents so widely employed in ancient times for ritual pruposes. It is well-known that the Egyptians and Assyrians eagerly sought after the spices, pearls and other gems which India could supply in plenty. Indians from the neolithic age wove cotton cloth in abundance and dyed it, as is proved from the various kinds of stone tools for

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[8] R. V. i. 48.3.

[7] A. V. i. 56.2.

[9] A. V. iii. 15.4.

[10] R. V. i. 116.5.

[11] J. R. A. S. 1898, pp. 248-297

weaving, including slick-stones for polishing cloth, discovered so far. Yet Kennedy shuts his eyes to all the avilable evidence of ancient commercial intercourse between India on the one hand and Egypt and Assyria on the other. He attempts to discount the value of the evidence of the names of articles of trade borrowed from Sanskrit and Tamil by the Accadian, Hebrew and Arabic languages. He tries to whittle down the Vedic evidence of the contact of Aryas with Assyria adduced by German scholars, magnifies the difficulties in the way of an extensive development of commerce by barter and concludes that "there is no valid proof of it."

Schoff's refutation:

Schoff, the American editor of the Periplus, thus conclusively refutes Kennedy's arguments. "Kennedy minimizes the importance of the early Egyptain trading voyages, considering them purely local, while the numerous references to articles and routes of early trade in the Hebrew scriptures he passes by with the assertion that they are due to the revision following the return of Ezra. But whatever may have been Ezra's revision of the Hebrew books, substantially the same articles of trade are described in the records of Egypt at corresponding dates, and they indicate a trade in articles of Indian origin to the Somali coast and overland to the Nile, centuries before Ezra's day. Such opinions presume a continuous trading journey without exchange of cargoes at common meeting-points. But primitive trade passed from tribe to tribe and port to port[12]."

[12] Schoff's Periplus, p. 228.

CHAPTER IV

RAMA AND SOUTH INDIA (C. 2000 B. C.)

The Growth of the Rāmāyaṇa:

The story of Rāma brings the whole of South India into view definitely for the first time. This story is narrated most fully in the Rāmāyaṇa, though almost independent accounts of it also occur in the Mahābhārata, the Raghuvamśa and other works. The evidence of the Rāmāyaṇa has to be taken with care on account of various reasons. It professes to be the work of Vālmīki, a Ṛṣi who was a contemporary of Rāma, and came to the help of Sītā when her husband, in a panicky mood, banished her, and educated her sons and taught them his great poem, from which they recited some ślokas to their father, when he visited the hermitage where they were reared. On the one hand, there is absolutely no reason which compels us to disbelieve this circumstantial account. On the contrary we cannot believe that the Rāmāyaṇa, as we have it, is exactly the same work as that which Vālmīki composed. For one thing Rāma lived at the end of the second third of the Vedic epoch. The hymns composed in that age, like the earlier and the later ones, are in the Vedic dialect; hence the Rāmāyaṇa of Rāma's days must have been in the Vedic dialect ('Candas' as Pāṇini calls it) or in the Prakrit which was then current. The Rāmāyaṇa as we have it now is in the classical dialect ('Bhāṣā' as Pāṇini calls it), which certainly did not exist before the X century B. C. The Candas dialect disappeared at

about the time of the war of the Mahābhārata, after which the line of mantra-composers died out. The dialect that succeeded the Candas dialect is that used in the Brāhmaṇas and Āraṇyakas, which is intermediate between Candas and Bhāṣā. Another reason why the Rāmāyaṇa as we have it now cannot be taken as the work of Vālmīki, the contemporary of Rāma, is the occurrence in it of the view that Rāma was an incarnation of Viṣṇu, the Supreme Deity. Viṣṇu was not the Supreme Being in the Vedic cult, and the doctrine of His Avatāras is foreign to the Vedic theology. The name of Rāma occurs in Ṛg Veda x. 93. 14 in a list of Maghavans or lords who instituted sacrfices and gave heavy dakṣiṇa to priests. Here he is mentioned as a human person without any claims to divinity. It is difficult to believe that Vālmīki endowed Rāma with divine status in the latter's life time. Moreover the doctrine of divine incarnations was evolved in the the schools of the Āgamas, which were opposed to the Vedic cult in the earlier ages, so much so that even in the X century A. D. Yāmunācārya had to write a book called Āgamaprāmāṇya to prove that the Vaiṣṇava Āgamas were as authoritative as the Vedas to the Vaiṣṇavas. On the decline of the Vedic sacrificial cult after the war of Māhābhārata, the Āgama cults attained to prominence in Northern India. Hence the conception that Rāma was one of the Avatāras of Viṣṇu could have got into the story of Rāma, only after the X century B. C. Therefore I conclude fhat the story of Rāma, as narrated in his life-time by Vālmīki was rewritten after the X century B. C. in the language which Pāṇini called Bhāṣā, and that the concept of Rāma's being an Avatāra, besides other extraneous matter,

got into the story then. In a list of Gotra-founders given in a South Indian edition in Grantha characters of the Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra occur the names of Vālmīki and Pāṇini together, as Gotra founders[1]; this gives one the impression that a certain Vālmīki and Pāṇini were contemporaries. Probably this Vālmīki of the VII century B. C. revised the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki Prācetasa in classical Sanskrt and worked into it the concept of Rāma's being an incarnation of Viṣṇu. Lassen after a critical study of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, has remarked, 'It is true that in the epic poems Rāma and Kṛṣṇa appear as incarnations of Viṣṇu, but they at the same time come before us as human heroes, and these two characters (the divine and the human) are so far from being inseparably blended together, that both of these heroes are for the most part exhibited in no other light than other highly gifted men acting according to human motives and taking no advantage of their divine superiority. It is only in certion sections which have been added for the purpose of enforcing their divine character that they take the charcter of Viṣṇu. It is impossible to read either of these poems with attention, without being reminded of the later interpolation of these sections, and of the unskilful manner in which these passages are often introduced, and without observing how loosely they are connected with the rest of the narrative, and how unnecessary they are for its progress."[2]

The style of the Rāmāyaṇa does not at all give one the impression of a double authorship of the poem. But

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[1]. I am indebted to Mr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri, Assistant Editor, Tamil Lexicon, for this information.

this need be no formidable objection if we remember that the second Vālmīki must have written the poem de novo, if he wanted to render it in the Bhāṣā prevalent in his time.[2]

Another Rāma story:

The story of Rāma is known to the bulk of the Hindus of India to-day in all its details; because it is being expounded almost daily in all villages by pandits or improvisitores. But that it was not so in the VII century B.C. and that versions of the Rāma story, different in essential particulars from Vālmīki's poem, existed as folk-tales at that time, is proved by the Daśaratha Jātaka, No. 461 of the (Bauddha) Jātaka.[3] This tale says that Daśaratha, King of Benares, had sixteen thousand wives and that Rāma paṇḍita, *i.e.*, Rāma the wise, Lakkhaṇakumāra and Sītādēvī were born to his chief queen. After this queen died, Daśaratha set up another lady as chief queen; to her was born Bharata. This queen began to worry him to give the kingdom to her son. Daśaratha refused to do so but bade Rāma and Lakkhaṇa and Sītādēvī live in the forest for twelve years, lest the new queen should encompass their destruction and to claim the kingdom after twelve years when the soothsayer (nimittaḥ) said he would die. They retired to the Himalayas where they lived in a hermitage. Nine years after this the

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[2] For a very careful study of this question, vide Muir's Original Sanskit Texts vol. iv. pp. 164-182, whence the above quotation from Lassen has been taken; pp. 441-491 of the same work may also be consulted.

[3] Whatever was the date when this Jātaka was written, the tale must have existed long before it.

king died of sorrow and Bharata repaired to the hermitage and begged Rāma to return and rule the kingdom. Rāma refused to return before the period of twelve years ordained by his father expired, and gave Bharata his slippers (pāduka) and told him that the slippers would govern the kingdom for three years. Then Bharata, Lakkhaṇa and Sītādevī returned to the capital with the slippers. When the three years were over, Rāma went to Benares, was crowned king with Sītā as his queen and reigned in righteousness (dhammena rajjan karetva) for 16,000 years and entered Svarga. The fact that this tale prevailed among the common people and was pressed into service by the Bauddhas, who made Rāma a Bodhisatta who after many births was born as Gautama, proves that Vālmīki's version was not known to a section of the common people at that date. Probably the recomposition of the epic in delightfully beautiful, and at the same time, simple Sanskrit by the Valmīki who was a contemporary of Pāṇini, incorporating the Āgama doctrine of Rāma's being an incarnation of Viṣṇu, made the poem widely popular after the VII century B. C, when Bhakti cults became popular in North India. Of course, all this is mere theory, but it is the only theory that will fit in with the facts.

References to South India in the Rāmāyaṇa:

Taking the above as a working hypothesis we have a means of separating the references in the Rāmāyaṇa to South India which form vital portions of the story as belonging to Rama's time, from those which were introduced in the first millennium B. C. by the later Vālmīki who knew something about the South India of his time and anachronistically introduced them into the

version. Thus we may take it that in Rāma's days the rule of the Rākṣasas extended to the south of the Godāvarī, near which river was situated the Rākṣasa outpost of Janasthāna [4]. North of the Godāvarī a number of Aryan kingdoms had been established, but they were not powerful enough to check the incursions of Yakṣas and Rākṣasas into the regions beyond the Vindhyas. For when Rāma visited those regions along with Viśvāmitra, to guard the latter's sacrifices from being disturbed by Rākṣasas, he had to fight with the Yakṣiṇī, Tāṭaka, Mārīca, her son, who had become a Rākṣasa, and Subāhu, who three had strayed north of the Vindhyas. It was near the banks of the Godāvarī up to which river the Ṛṣi settlements had gone in Rāma's days, that large numbers of Rākṣasas roamed, for it was near the borders of Rāvaṇa's realm and they could count on his help. There Rāvaṇa's brother, gigantic Khara, persecuted the Āryas who lived in Janasthāna. The Ṛṣis who met Rāma in the forest near bitterly complained about the atrocities committed by them :—"Anāryas stand in front of other sages and soon spoil (their rites) with impure and unclean things. Those small-minded men take delight in ruining from behind (the austerities) of the ascetics in their hermitages. When oblations are (about) to be offered in the holy Agni, they throw away the sacrificial vessels, pour water over the fires and break the pots."[5]

[4] The following references for this statement are given by Pargiter op. cit. p. 277, viz., M Bh. iii. 2. 76. 15986, vii. 59, 2226 ; Rām. ii. 116. 11, iii, 1825.

[5] Apraśastair aśucibhiḥ samprayojyaca tāpasān | pratighnanti aparān kṣipram anāryāḥ purataḥ sthitāḥ || teṣu teṣvāṣrama sthāneṣu abuddham avalīya ca | ramante tāpasāṁstatra nāśayanto alpacetasaḥ || .

This passage vividly brings home to us the contempt of the Anāryas for the Ārya rites in Rāma's days. These Anāryas did not speak Sanskrit. In the Veda they are called mridhra vāca [6], of injurious speech, and anāsa [7], mouthless, devoid of (good) speech, a phrase misinterpreted by European scholars to mean 'noseless' and supposed by them to refer to the flat noses of the Dasyus. The words refer to the fact that the Rākṣasas spoke an idiom, different from the Āryan; and the Rāmāyaṇa confirms this when it says that Ilvala, the Rākṣasa, tried to deceive Brāhmaṇas by disguising himself as a Brāhmaṇa and speaking Sanskrit, which apparently was not his mother tongue [8]. Another such significant remark in this poem refers to the characteristic difference of funeral customs between the Āryas and the Dasyus. Throughout the world till the Ārya fire-cult arose, burial was the normal form of disposal of the dead, except where the still older custom of exposing the corpses to the destructive forces of natural agencies prevailed. The fire-cult gave birth to the custom of cremation—the offering of the dead man to the Gods through fire. In India and elesewhere the introduction of cremation is a sure sign of the spread of the Ārya cult. The Rākṣasas being Anāryas

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avakṣipanti srug bhāndan agnīn siñcanti vāriṇa | kalaśāmsca pramṛdnanti havane samupastite. ||
Ram. ii. 116.15-17.

[6] R.V.i. 174. 2, v. 32. 8

[7] R.V.v. 29. 10

[8] dhārayan brāhmaṇam rūpam ilvalaḥ samskṛtam vadan. Rām. iii. 11. 58.

buried their dead. So Virādha, when he was killed by Rāma, exhorts him to bury his corpse for that was the old law of the Rākṣasas [9]. These casual references to non-Aryan customs cannot at all be regarded as later interpolations, but help to throw light on the fact that in Rāma's time Aryan customs had begun to spread but slowly south of the Godāvarī. The compelling influence of Aryan civilization made a few Rākṣasas learn Sanskrt. Ilvala was not the only Anārya who learnt that language. Rāvaṇa is described to have became an expert in it. So much so that when Hanumān, discussing with himself in what language he ought to converse with Sītā, remarks that if he spoke Sanskrit she would mistake him for Rāvaṇa [10] Hanumān himself is said to have been the eighth great Sanskrit grammarian but this perhaps refers to a much later Hanumān. Moreover many Rākṣasas became great Brāhmaṇas, expert students of the Veda and performers of austerities. They were called Brahmarākṣasas. The Agastyas and Viśvāmitras belonged to this class. The Paulastyas, of whom Rāvaṇa was one, and the Nairṛtas were also Brahmarākṣasas.[11]

When Bharata marched in the wake of Rāma to induce him to return to Ayodhyā, he remarked that his

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[9] avate cāpi mām rāma prakṣipya kuśalivrajā | rākṣasām gatasattvānām eṣa dharmaḥ sanātanaḥ || Rām. iii. 4. 20.

[10] Yadi vācam pradāsyāmi dvijātiriva samskrtām | rāvanam manyamānā mām sītā bhīta bhaviṣyati || vānarasya viśeṣeṇa katham syād abhibhāṣaṇam | avaśyam eva vaktavyam mānuṣam vākyam arthavat || Rām. v. 20. 19.

[11] For references vide Pargiter op.cit. p. 242

warriors bore shields black like the clouds and wore flowers on their heads like the southerners.[12] The people of ancient South India grew a whole head of hair, since the profession of the barber was unknown to them, as is proved by the fact that there is no genuine Tamil word for the barber, the existing words being either borrowed from Sanskrit or late compound names. The Tamils loved to decorate their hair with all kinds of flowers one for each region they inhabited and one for each separate incident in love and war. In fact the science of the language of flowers was highly developed among them: so much so that there is no improbability in this fact being known to Northerners even in early days.

Some non-genuine references :

The references to South India by the Rāmāyaṇa given above certainly belong to the earlier layer of the poem, but the following reference to Tamil kingdoms equally certainly does not. When Sugrīva was organising the search for Sītā in all directions he sent a band of followers to the South. In giving an account of this, the poet gives a list of the kingdoms that lay to the south of the Vindhyas and not merely South of Kiṣkindhā and includes in that list the kingdoms of the Āndhras, the Puṇḍras, the Colas and the Pāṇḍyas with the Keralas[13]. In giving directions to the army which he sent to the west he mentions Muracīpattanam which perhaps is Muśiṛi,

[12] Kurvanti kusumāpiḍān śirassu surabhīnami | meghaprakāśaih palakair dākṣinātyāḥ yathānarāḥ ‖ Ayodh. Kāṇḍ. 93. 13.

[13] Tathaiv āndhrāmsca puṇḍrāmsca colān pāṇḍyān sakeralān. Kiṣk. Kāṇḍ. 41.2

the great ancient sea-port of the Malabar coast[14]. These two references if they belong to the Rāmāyaṇa at all, cannot belong to the earlier draft of the poem. Nor again, the other reference to the Pāṇḍyas which is found in all recensions, where Sugrīva bids his monkey-host behold on the shore of the ocean the Pāṇḍya's golden gates decked with pearl and gold[15]. The general run of the story of the Rāmāyaṇa has the implication that all India south of the Godāvarī was under the sway of Rāvaṇa, except the districts in the most thickly wooded interior of Daṇḍakāraṇya which belonged to the Vānaras who had chiefs of their own. The jealous and all powerful Rāvaṇa would not have brooked for a moment the prevalence of the Pāṇḍyas near his own doors. Moreover, if the Pāṇḍyas had been rulers at the time, it is impossible to believe that they joined neither side fn the great war between Rāvaṇa and Rāma. Moreover these districts, not even that of the Pāṇḍyas,

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[14] Kiṣk. Kāṇḍ. 42.13. This and the above passage are not translated in Griffith's Rāmāyaṇa ; hence I take it that they are not found in the northern recensions of the poem.

[15] tato hemamayam divyam muktā maṇi vibhūṣitam | yuktam kavāṭam pāṇḍyānām gatādrakṣyata vānarāḥ. || Govindarāja, a Tamil man, commentating on this passage explains kavāṭam here as referring to a town of that name. Probably Govindarāja had heard of the Tamil tradition that Kavāṭapuram was an ancient capital of the Pāṇḍyas and imports this knowledge into his commentaries. The Tamil tradition itself belongs only to a late period of Tamil literature and may have been invented on account of a misunderstanding of this very passage of the Rāmāyaṇa.

from whose coast Rāma crossed to Ceylon, are not mentioned when describing Rāma's march in the southernmost part of India. He started his famous bridge from the Pāṇḍya country and if the Pāṇḍyas had existed in his time, it would have been mentioned in this part of the poem.

I therefore hold that the three ancient powers of Śōḻa, Śēra and Pāṇḍya rose, probably as a result of the extinction of Rāvaṇa's rule, after the age of the Rāmāyaṇa. The reference to the Pāṇḍyas or all the three in the Rāmāyaṇa must have been put into the story in the second draft of the poem in the first millennium B.C.

Agastya :

One more point connected with the Rāmāyaṇa has to be discussed here. The first Agastya, husband of Lopāmudrā, a princess of Vidarbha, was a contemporary of Alarka, king of Kāśī, who lived a little more than twenty generations before Rāma[16]. Thus the earliest Agastya lived in the region immediately south of the Vindhyas. This is perhaps the meaning of the fable, that he crushed down the Vindhyas and ordered the mountain to remain low till he returned from the south[17]. His āśrama was "apparently near Mount Vaiḍurya (the western part of the Sātpura Ranges)."[18] He made the southern region prefectly safe by means of his austerities[19]. But the Agastya whom Rāma met

[16] Pargiter op. cit. pp. 168.169.

[17] MBh. iii. 103, Rām iii. 11.85.

[18] MBh. iii. 88, 8344. Pargiter op. cit. p. 240.

[19] Rām. iii. 11. 81, vi. 177. 14.

'two yojanas' from Pañcavaṭī could[20] not have been the first Agastya, who lived about four centuries before Rāma's time, but must have been one of the later Agastyas; for this Agastya of Rāma's days lived near the Godāvarī, near which in his āśrama Rāma stayed on his way south. It continued to be his āśrama on his way north when he returned along with Sītā on his car, Puṣpaka. Hence Agastya's āśrama during the whole period of the wanderings of Rāma was two yojanas from Pāñcavaṭī. Yet, when Sugriva sent his Vānaras to the South to search for Sītā, he told them that they would see Kāveri's stream whose waters were holy, benign and bright and frequented by apsarasa girls: near by they would see, seated on the top of Malaya hill (Coorg), brilliant as the sun, Agastya, the excellent Ṛṣi[21]. Here we see Agastya spirited away, by the poet, as Śītā was by Rāvaṇa, from Pañcavaṭī and dropped on the top of the Malaya hill. Hence this must have been inserted by the later poet who lived after the Agastyas had proceeded further south than the Agastya of Rāma's time and settled in the Tamil country.

Spread of the Aryan cults in South India:

Great must have been the consequences of Rama's victory and the extinction of Rāvaṇa's power in South India. The Aryans who had been pushing south of Janasthāna even before Rāma's time now spread in

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[20] Rām. iii. 13.13.

[21] tatastām āpagām divyām prasanna salilām śivām | tatra drakṣyatha kāverīm vihitām apsarogaṇaiḥ || tasyāsīnām nagasyāgre malayasya mahaujasām | drakṣathāditya saṅkāśam agastyam ṛṣiruttamam. Rām. v. 41. 15—16.

larger numbers further south. The number of Brahmarākṣasas increased. This word, brahmarākṣasa, has acquired unsavoury associations in later usage. Absurd fables have been invented about their activities. But it originally meant either the progeny of Brāhmaṇas who had allied themselves with the Dasyus and the Rakshasas, like the sons of Viśvāmitra, who naturally became Brāhmaṇas and formed the Visvāmitras or Kauśikas[22] or those who became the disciples of the Agastyas and were affiliated to their gotra. Even before these, the Bhārgavas and their spiritual descendants had begun to spread in South India. These families constituted the nucleus of the brahmindom of South India. The Brāhmaṇas of this part of the country have this peculiarity, that in some respects they preserve the customs of the Vedic age intact and in others they have adopted South Indian customs unknown to Āryāvartta. On the one hand they shave their heads so as to display a top-knot quite as prominently as the ancient Vāsiṣṭhas;[23] they wear two clothes, called, in old days, the pavasta and vavri[25] or the parodhānam and nīvi[26] and whenever possible, avoid stitched cloths. In this latter respect women are more particular than men.

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[22] The Bhāgavata Purāṇa ix. 16. 29-37 says that Maddhucchandas and the other younger sons who obeyed Viśvāmitra became Kauśikas and the elder sons who disobeyed him belonged to the Viśvāmitra gotra. Pargiter, op. cit. p. 235.

[23] R.V. vii. 33. 1.

[24] A.V. iv. 7. 6.

[25] A.V. ix. 10.7.

[26] A.V. viii. 2. 16.

But, on the other hand, some anārya customs are very dear to Southern ladies, such as the tying of the tāli as the most important act of the marriage-rite[27] and the wearing round the neck a bit of thread dyed in turmeric. Again the way in which the husband that is to be is welcomed by the mother of the bride and the bridesmaids is a relic of old Dasyu rites. He and his bride are made to stand beneath the marriage-pandal, their feet symbolically washed in milk and balls of rice dyed in red thrown in all directions[28]. These customs must have been introduced into the Ārya rite of vivāha by the Dasyu ladies whom the early Ārya immigrants married. Such old Dasyu rites were regarded as so sacred by these Dasyu wives that Āpastamba, the law-giver of the South Indian Āryas and one of the latest of the Sūtrakāras, has said that 'the knowledge which Śūdras and woman possess is the completion of all study'[29]. South Indian women follow religiously an-

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[27] This is a pure Tamil custom, absolutely unknown to the Gṛhya Sutrás, which consider pāṇigrahaṇam, the taking of the hand, and the saptapadī the taking of the seven steps, as the vital act of the sacrament of marriage.

[28] Reception of the bride and the bridegroom under a pandal put up for the occasion is described in Agam 86, நிரைகாற்றண்பெரும் பந்தர், The balls of red rice are a brahminical substitute for balls of rice mixed with blood such as is described in Tirumurugāṛṛuppaḍai as being offered to Murugan in worshipping him. குருதியோடு விரைஇய தூவெள்ளரிசி சில்பலி செய்து, ll. 233-4 'pure white rice mixed with blood offered as minor offering';

[29] Sāniṣṭhā yāvidyā strīśu ṣūdreṣuca. Dharma Sūtras II. xi. 29. II.

other custom unknown to their northern sisters—that of crossing their skirts between the legs, i. e. wearing a kaccha. This is clearly not a Dasyu custom, because it is not followed by ladies of other than the Brāhmaṇa caste. Probably because their Ārya husbands attached a special holiness to the kaccha, the wives in early days imitated it, so as to distinguish them from their unaryanised, unregenerate, Dasyu sisters.

A rational explanation :

G. Ramadas Pantulu of Jeypore (Vizagapatam agency) has sent me a note offering some proofs to justify the theory that Rāvaṇa's followers were primitive Dravidians. The most primitive Dravidian dialect we have is the Kūi (sometimes wrongly called Khond) spoken in the hill tracts between the Central Provinces and the Northern Circars. The speakers of this dialect preserve ancient customs which the more civilized of the Dravidians have outgrown. The author of the note has lived among the Kūi for many years and his information is first hand. He says, "Every Kūi village has. at its entrance, a goddess by name 'Niśān Pennu.' It is represented by a round oval-shaped stone of about 6 to 9 inches in height and it is installed under a tree at the gate. That it may not be interfered with by men or animals, it is covered by a heap of stones. It is believed that, if this stone is broken or removed from its place, or in any way injured, some evil would befall the village. The villagers make offerings of fowls, goats, buffaloes, cows or pigs to this goddess, on every festive occasion." This fact is discernible behind Vālmīki's poetic account of Hanumān's encounter with Laṅkā the guardian goddess of Rāvaṇa's capital, when she

was vanquished by him. She was the invincible protectress of the city and the self-existent lord had told her, 'when thou shalt be vanquished by the valiant monkey, know that danger will overtake the Rākṣasas '[30]. Even today every South Indian village possesses a border-goddess, ellaiyamman, worshipped chiefly by the lower orders but treated by the higher castes as one of the innumerable manifestations of Durgā, the supreme mother-goddess.

Entering the city Hanumān found among pleasure-spots a 'dāru-parvatam,' 'a hillock of felled trees'. Ramdas Pantulu says, "in the Agency tracts of the Vizagapatam districts, dāru is understood to mean 'fuel'. Fuel stacked in the form of hillocks or towers is a common sight in this Agency. As the rains pour so abundantly in these hills such stacks become a necessity as a provision against the season, when it is not possible to secure a piece of dry wood. As it was after the rains that Hanumān went to Laṅkā, it is no wonder that the Vānara spy saw such structures, within the precincts of Rāvaṇa's abode[31]."

Another point mentioned by Ramdas Pantulu may be noted. "When Rāvaṇa went to battle he was followed by beings who had faces of tigers, horses,

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[30] aham tu nagarī laṅkā svayameva plavaṅgama | nirjitāham tvayā vīra vikrameṇa mahābala || idam ca tathyam śrunu me bruvāntyā vai harīśvara | svyam svayambhunā datta varadānam yathā mama ||

yadā tvāmvānaraḥ kaścid vikramād vaśam ānayet | tadā tvayā vijñeyam rakṣasām bhayamāgatam || Rām. V. 3. 45-47.

[31] Rām. V. 6. 36.

camels, stags etc.[32] These bhūtas were Rākṣasa soldiers wearing masks resembling the faces of animals. This was one of the several means the Rākṣasas are said to have used to terrify the peaceful settlers of the Daṇḍaka forest, or their enemies in battle." No doubt the northern Dasyus who fought with the Āryas also used similar devices and earned the reputation of employing magic practices."[33] The Kūi tribesmen also have the custom of wearing masks of the head of wild animals or wearing bison or stag horns on their heads. This custom which was originally intended for wars, is now adopted in times of amusements such as dances. 'The war dress of the Khonds [i.e. Kūis] is elaborate, and consists of a leather cuirass in front and a flowing red cloak, which with an arrangement of bison horns and peacock's feathers is supposed to strike awe into the beholder's minds.' (Thurston's Castes and Tribes, III p. 364). 'For dances,......stag and bison-horns are also worn on the heads of some' (Central Provinces Gazeteers, Chatisgarh Fenudatory States, (p 51)."

Ramadas Pantulu has also an illuminating note on the ten heads of Rāvaṇa. It has been long guessed that

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[32] Yascaiva nānā vidha ghora rūpair vyāghroṣṭra nāgendra mṛgāśva vaktraiḥ | bhūtairvṛto bhāti vivṛtta netraiḥ sosau surāṇāmapi darpahantā || . Rām. vi. 59. 24.

[33] pra māyinām amināḍ varpaṇitiḥ, 'weak grew the wily leader of enchanters', (Griffith), R.V. iii. 34. 3.

māyāvān abrahmā dasyuḥ, "the sorcerer, prayerless Dasyu', R.V. iv. 16. 9.

Śuṣṇasya māyā, 'Śuṣṇa's magic', R.V. v. 31. 7.

Rāvaṇa's ten heads are due to a misunderstanding of the words daśāsya and daśagrīva. Ramdas Pantulu gives a plausible explanation of the origin of these two words.

" Daśāsya is a name applied to Rāvaṇa ; it and its cognate forms Daśagrīva, Daśānana are understood to signify ten heads. Consequently, Rāvaṇa has ever been pictured as a demon with ten heads. But Vālmīki, no where in his book, describes him so ; and in every place he presents him with one head and two arms. Such being the case, how can the interpretation given by the commentators to these other names of the Rākṣasa lord be justified ? The significance of these words must be quite different. So Daśāsya and Daśagrīva considered from their usage in the epic seem to expose a particular character of the person to whom they are applied. In the expressions ' Rāvaṇonāma bhadrante daśagrīvah pratāpavān ' (III. 48. 2). ' Seetayāḥ vacanam śrutva daśagrivaḥ pratāpāvān ' the construction of 'pratāpavān ' is similar to that in Rākṣasendraḥ pratāpavān. In the three quotations the pratāpa or glory possessed by Rāvaṇa is illustrated by the words preceding it. The meaning of the last is clear because it means that Ravana had the glory of being the king of the Rākṣasas. But the meaning of the first two cannot be understood unless we first know for what Rāvana was famous. That fame of the Rāksasa lord is revealed in

Rāvaṇo=Loka- rāvaṅaḥ.

Rāvano=śatru-rāvaṇah.

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ahirmāyasya 'of one who knew the viles of serpents'. vi. 20. 7.

adevīh māyāh, 'godless ārts of magic.' R.V. vii 1. 10.

Yena vitrasita = loka = ssadēv = āsura pannagāḥ
loka-kṣobhayitāramca nādairbhūta virāvinam.

He vexed the worlds; he vexed his enemies; he struck terror to the worlds of the gods, the asuras and the pannagas; he vexed the worlds and terrified the beings by his voice.

These show that his main glory consisted in causing vexation to every one. 'Daśagrīvah pratāpavān' meant originally that he had the glory of causing vexation or affliction. So must Dāśasya mean also the same. 'Sa' or 'asi' is a termination of personal nouns in Kūi. The orginal word Daśāsi or Daśāsa can easily become 'daśāsya' in Sanskrit. Rāvana was a daśāsi or an afflicting man.

In Kūi 'giva' is a verbal termination; daśa-giva means to afflict, dia-giva, to irritate; vēpa-giva, to kill or to knock; oba-giva, to take; baṇḍi-giva, to cheat, are other examples of Kūi infinitives formed by addidg 'giva' to nouns. 'Daśa-giva'' easily becomes 'daśagrīva.', The expression 'dasa-grīvaḥ pratāpavān' intimates that all his prowess or glory was to afflict. This meaning is more consistent with the character of Rāvaṇa than the one which places ten necks on his shoulders."

CHAPTER V.

THE CULTURE OF THE TAMILS DURING II MILLENNIUM B. C.

Literary conventions and the life of the people;

From the Rāmāyaṇa we can but get a very meagre idea of the life and culture of the early Tamils. We ought to remember that the Rāmāyaṇa can but be a highly prejudiced witness with regard to this question. The Rākṣasas, being the dreaded enemies of the Āryas, are naturally described as ogres in bodily shape and monsters of cruelty. But a more correct idea of the culture of the Tamils in very early times can be derived from analysing the literary conventions of the Tamil poetry of a later age. By literary conventions I do not mean artificial canons of criticism. The Tamil literary conventions are not rules unconsciously followed by poets and codified by critics of a later age, like Aristotle's canons of epic poetry and those described by Horace. Ancient Tamil literary conventions were petrifactions of old customs developed by the action of the environment on human life. Literary conventions, especially of the early, unsophisticated stages of literature which existed long before the rise of the much later artificial poetry of Sanskrit and Tamil, were based on the actual customs and manners of the people. At first the bards sang as unconsciously as the lark, and their poetry was a true mirror of the life led by the people of those times. Later poets kept up the traditional imagery of earlier ones even when the conditions of life that gave birth to

these traditions had altered and then these poetic images became mere literary conventions. For example, in early days the wealth of the people consisted in cattle; and quarrels arose between chiefs when they stole each other's cattle. Hence to sing of war as beginning with the lifting of the enemy's cattle represented the actual state of affairs in a certain stage of the evolution of human history. In later ages other causes of war arose; but literary convention required the poet to sing of a preliminary cattle-lifting as the invariable beginning of hostilities. So in later poetry, still of the period preceding the rise of Tamil artifical poetry in the VI century A.D., a large number of literary conventions strictly regulated the composition of poetry, both of love and war.

From these conventions we can go back in imagination to the ages when the poems sung by bards faithfully reflected the life which people actually led. From this age we can go back to the age before the rise of poetry and get a glimpse of the life which Indians led in the very remote past. Peeping thus into the far past, we can visualise the life of the South Indians, about 2,000 B. C. or earlier. Before doing so we ought to remember that progress in remote antiquity was much slower than in the present days of wireless telegraphy and the aeroplane. The breathlessly hasty changes of our present-day life and the slow movement, imperceptible as that of the glacier, of life and thought in ancient days are poles apart; hence what was true of 2,000 B.C. was equally true of much earlier times. In those far-off days, man, like other animals, lived entirely subject to geographical conditions and his life was almost a passive reaction to the conditions of his environment, thus

affording a striking contrast to present-day life when man has learnt to conquer physical limitations and can struggle successfully with the snows of the artic regions and transcend even the laws of gravitation by flying to the upper layers of the atmosphere.

Literary conventions of love poems derived from actual life-conditions:

It has been already pointed out in Chapter I that the habitable parts of the earth's surface can be divided, and were divided by ancient Tamil poets into five regions—the region of low hills, slightly wooded, where man first lived and hunted, the sandy desert where water is scarce and vegetation sparse and where man first developed martial virtues and predatory impulses, the forest region where the pastoral stage of human life was first reached, the coastal region, where man learnt to fish and to sail on boats and to barter fish and salt for grain, and the lower river-valley where the arts of agriculture and weaving were invented. The passage of man from one culture to another took long periods of time; it was chiefly owing to migrations of men from region to region; but each region retained its own culture when the succeeding ones arose. Thus in the Kuṛiñji or hill country where the first stages of human culture arose, men led the semi-nomad life of the hunter. The course of love was not deterred by social conventions, and love at first sight followed by its immediate consummation was the norm. In much later times arose the celebration of marriage by a public reception of the wedded pair, followed by a tribal feast but the age-long custom of love passages preceding the wedding festival was kept up, as it is even to-day, among the hill-tribes. Again, men and women of the hill tracts were satisfied with a

minimum of dress. Innumerable strings of shells hanging from the neck and a garland of flowers and leaves (from which in later times was developed the girdle, mekhalā) round the hips, were enough to cover the person; and among Kuṛavar to-day this same dress prevails in the interior of the Kuṛiñji land and when these Kuṛavar visit the low country, the only change in their dress is the substitution of rags for the belt made of leaves and flowers. When poetry first arose among the Kuṛavar the bards naturally sang about the pre-nuptial loves of hill-chieftains and their presenting their mistresses with leaf-garments, (taḻai uḍai) and the teeth of the tigers which the hill-chiefs killed in the chase; these teeth were strung together and worn hanging from the neck and called pulipparṟāli[1] from which in later times was evolved the gold tāli. Later it became a literary convention that pre-nuptial love (kaḷavu) ought to be the subject-matter only of the class of poems called Kuṛiñjittiṇai, to be associated only with the fauna and flora of the hill-country and with the presentation of leaf-garments, with the attribution of love-sickness to the possession of the girl by the hill god Murugan and its cure by exorcism, etc.,; all the incidents of the uneven course of true love were classified and prescribed as the subject-matter of Kuṛiñjittiṇai.

Similarly the subject-matter of the poems of Mullaittiṇai, those correlated to the wooded region, was fixed as the woe of the short separation of lovers such as will take place when the herdsman goes away from his mistress to tend his cattle and as the joy of their re-union and Mullai poems draw their images from the

[1] Ornament made of tiger's teeth, hanging from the neck as the sign of the married state, also worn by boys.

natural objects and the customs of the pastoral regions. Poems of Neydal tiṉai dealt with the longer separation necessitated by fishing expeditions and the making love to the beauties with a black shining skin from which was constantly emanating the smell of dried fish. Pālaittiṉai, poetry of the dry desert, was born in connection with the very long separation incidental to the predatory life of the inhabitants of the dreary stretches of the sandy plain; hence the pangs of long separation became the subject-matter of Pālai poetry; this was the nearest approach to the tragic muse which the early Tamil temperment could stand, for tragedy as such was proscribed from the dominion of the Tamil muse. Finally, formal marriage and post-nuptial love (Kaṟpu) and the thorns on its path such as the disorganization of domestic life by the seductions of hetairae, the consequent quarrels between the wedded lovers and the delightful reconciliations that succeeded the quarrels, became the subject-matter of Marudattiṉai, the poetry of the river-valleys. It is easy to understand that these refinements of civilization were evolved in the agricultural region, where the hard work for a few months in the damp rice-fields was followed by an enforced leisure during the periods once when the corn was ripening and again after the grain had been garnered and the soil had to be given rest so that it might be ready for the next year's ploughing. Lovers' quarrels and amatory exploits were the only available amusements during this period of leisure.

Conventions of war-poetry based on the conditions of the terrain:

Besides love, the other subject of poetry was war. Wars in the Kuṟiñji consisted merely in the lifting of

cattle (Veṭci) so called because the raiders wore a garland of veṭci flowers; and their recovery from the depradators (karandai), named for a similar reason. The forest region adjoining was the primitive first line of defence and was hence called Kāvaṛkāḍu; chiefs wearing vañji garlands led expeditions into the forest lands; this was called Vañji. When kings established their capitals in the river-valleys (Marudam), they built forts for their protection and siege operations became a part of military science. During these operations the uḻiñai creeper was worn and the poetry that described them came under the class Uḻiñai. Stand-up fights involving military tactics are possible only on an open battle-field, far from the wooded and the cultivated lands, and became associated with the broad plains near the sea-coast (Neydal) and came to be denominated Tumbai, because tumbai garlands were worn in these fights on the open plain. Finally, analogous to the parting of lovers associated with Pālai, the desert, was the Vāgai, which sang of success, the singers wearing vāgai garlands as well as of the tragedy of war and the desolation of the country resulting from fights.

It may be noted here that all these different kinds (tiṇais) of poetry have been named after flowers. Each flower was the characteristic product of one region or another. Garlands of these flowers were worn as symbols of the particular incident of love or war described. Flowers formed the distinctive uniforms of soldiers in military operations. The ancient Tamils delighted in flowers and decorated their persons, their tools and other belongings, and their houses and pandals with leaves and flowers from very early times.

This same love of nature was the cause why they beautified their tools, their houses, their furniture, and their vessels with carvings imitative of creepers, leaves, flowers and animals. It is only to-day that ugly, undecorated, machine-made articles are displacing decorated ones in Tamil houses and are thus effacing the aesthetic sense from the souls of those who have taken to modern civilization. The Tamils hence developed a complicated language of flowers which expressed their thoughts in symbolic form, in their life as well as in their poems.

The evolution of literary conventions:

These various conventions of poetry are fully discussed in my coming book on The Ancient Tamils as depicted in the Poruḷadigāram of Tolkāppiyam. Here I am only concerned to point out that the literary conventions described in that grammar must have grown in these stages :—

(1) The period (and it must have been a very long period to be counted in thousands of years) when the five stages of human culture gradually evolved in the five natural regions.

(2) The stage when bards began to sing in each region and unconsciously reflected in their poems the conditions of life in that region, its fauna and flora, and the customs developed there in response to environment.

(3) The period when the practice of poets crystallised into fixed literary conventions, so rigid, that a poem sung in whatever natural region, if it dealt with a particular incident, ought to be assigned to its proper

tiṇai, the word tiṇai having acquired the double meaning of (*a*) a natural region, (*b*) a class of poems dealing with events once naturally, now conventionally, associated with one of the five natural regions.

These conventions are described in the Poruḷadigāram (section on the subject-matter of poetry) of the Tamil grammar called Tolkāppiyam by Tolkāppiyanār. This is the earliest extant Tamil book and was probably composed not later than the I or II century A.D. This book refers to previous treatises on the grammar of poetry, none of which is now available, and presupposes the existence of a vast volume of Tamil poetic literature, on which the grammar was based, most or all of which is lost. Tolkāppiyanār describes hundreds of incidents occurring in the course of love and war which are proper subjects of poetic treatment. With regard to each one of those incidents he must have had in mind a few odes which had been composed by poets who lived before his time; for it is absurd to think that the critic analysed a priori the course of love and war into a series of possible incidents and then poets began to sing about each of these incidents described by the critic. The earliest Tamil poems which are now extant belong, almost all, to the age that succeeded the time of Tolkāppiyanār and commentators on the Tolkāppiyam find it difficult to discover in this later poetry illustrations for many of Tolkāppiyar's rules: sometimes their illustrative quotations are inappropriate and oftentimes they fail altogether in their attempt to illustrate Tolkāppiyanār's rules and tell the reader to find his own illustrations when he can. From all this it is evident that a vast Tamil literature was composed before Tolkāppiyanār's time. Five

centuries would be a modest estimate for the period during which this literature grew. Before this literature with its petrified poetic conventions began, there must have been another literature in which these conventions were realities, when, for instance, the poet did not merely as a matter of form attribute the birth of love to the hill country, but reflected in his songs the life-conditions of each natural region. In that far-off age temporary separation of lovers was not conventionally referred to the four tracts—Mullai, Neydal, Marudam or Pālai—but the poet living and singing in each region described the pangs of the separation of lovers, which he noticed in that region. It will not be an exaggerated estimate to ascribe a period of five centuries to the development of, what one might call, the natural poetry which preceded the conventional poetry on which Tolkāppiyanār based his grammar. We thus reach about 1000 B. C. as the later limit of the birth of Tamil poetry. The culture that led to the evolution of this poetry and was reflected in it must have taken ages to grow and we can hence conclude that the early culture of the Tamils must have been reached by them a few millenniums before Christ.

Tribal chiefs as Heroes of poems:

From early times the bards sang with an eye to profit. So the heroes of their poems were tribal chiefs. War was necessarily conducted by such chiefs. It was only in rare cases that common people could have occasion to perform specially heroic exploits; but ordinarily the credit of the various incidents of war would go to the chiefs. The heroes of love poetry were also kings, for it would not pay to sing about the loves

of the poor. Such chiefs were, as were their followers, named with reference to the regions they inhabited. Says Tolkāppiyanār, "The names of the tribes of the tiṇais are of two kinds, namely, those derived from the nouns and verbs (*i.e.*, qualities and actions), pertaining to the tiṇais. The tiṇai names of men, Āyar (herdsmen), Veṭṭuvar (huntsmen), etc., belong to their chiefs too. The tiṇai names of other (regions), if examined, are similar (and so those of the chiefs).[2]," These tribal names have now become caste-names, *e.g.* Kuṛavar, Paradavar, Iḍaiyar, Veḷḷāḷar. It is but natural that endogamy should prevail among the people who are confined to particular regions and have developed customs peculiar to the occupations which their physical environment has imposed on the tribe, and endogamy as well as the attachment to old tribal customs on the part of women has been the cause why tribes have become castes. The influence of the tribal chiefs or kings has also tended to petrify tribal customs. The Kingship of the tribal head was probably of a very primitive type, for there is little in the early Tamil odes or in the Poruḷadigāram to indicate that the art of government was developed or followed any kind of political science, theoretical or practical.

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[2] பெயரும் வினையுமென் றாயிரு வகைய
திணைதொறு மரீஇய திணைநிலைப் பெயரே.
ஆயர் வேட்டுவ ராடூஉத்திணைப் பெய
ராவயின் வரூஉங் கிழவரு முளரே.
ஏனோர் மருங்கினு மெண்ணுங் காலை
யானா வகைய திணைநிலைப் பெயரே.

Tol. Por. i. 22-24.

Poetic conventions region by region:

The gods of the various regions are called the first of the seed-topics (karupporuḷ) of the regions. They will be taken up for discussion presently; besides them the other seed-topics are foodstuffs, beasts, trees, birds, drums, occupations, musical instruments, etc. appropriate to each region and the kind of poetry pertaining to it[3]. The enumeration of the seed-topics will show what keen observers the ancient Tamil poets were and how anxious they were to be absolutely true to nature. The foodstuffs peculiar to Mullai are the millets and the lentils; the animals, the deer, the hare; the trees, Konṟai (cassia), Kurundu and the tall Pudal grass; the birds, jungle-fowl and the partridge; the occupations, grazing herds and the garnering of millets; the amusement, bull-racing; the flowers, Mullai, which gave its name to the region, Piḍavu, Taḷavu, and Tōnṟi; and the sources of water supply, mountain streams.

Appropriate to Kuṟiñji are Aivanam (hill-rice), bamboo-rice and Tinai (panicum); the tiger, the elephant the bear and the boar; the trees, Agil (Agallochum), Ātti (Bauhinea Racemosa), Timiśu and Vēngai (varieties of Pterocarpus); the birds, the parrot and the peafowl; the occupations, honey-gathering, raising the tinai, extermination of locusts and hunting; the flowers, Kuṟiñji (Lawsonia Spinosa), Kāndaḷ (Gloriosa Superba) and Sunaikkuvaḻai (hill-lily); the sources of water-supply, mountain-streams and tanks.

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3 தெய்வ முணவே மாமரம் புட்பறை
செய்தி யாழின் பகுதியொடு தொகைஇ
யவ்வகை பிறவுங் கருவென மொழிப.

Tol. Por. i.18.

Relating to Marudam are red rice and white rice; the buffalo and the beaver; Marudam (Terminalia Alata), Kāñji, and the creeper Vañji; the duck, the water-fowl, the swan and the nightingale; operations connected with the raising of paddy; bull-racing; the lotus and the red water-lily; rivers, wells, and ponds.

Pertaining to Neydal are the foodstuffs bartered for fish and salt; bullocks and buffaloes carrying bags of salt; the crocodile and the shark; Punnai (Alexandrian laurel), ñāḻal, and Kaṇḍal (screwpine); the sea-crow; fishing, salt-manufacture and the sale of fish and salt; the flowers Kaidai (screw-pine) and Neydal (Nympha Alba); and wells in sandy tracts and salt marshes.

Suited to Pālai are food-stuffs obtained by highway robbery and pillage; emaciated elephants, tigers and wild dogs; the dried up Iruppai tree (Bassia Longifolia), the wild mango, the Uḻiñai creeper, ñemai, Pālai (iron-wood tree), Kaḷḷi (Spurge), and Śurai (calabash); the eagle, the kite, and the pigeon; highway robbery and plunder; the flowers Marā (Eugenia Racemosa), Kurā (bottle-flower) and Pādiri (Bignonia Chelonoides); and wells with scant water. Illustrations of the occurrence of these objects and actions in poetry appropriate to them will be found in plenty in the specimens of poetry given in several succeeding chapters.

Religion.

Man is not only a tool-making, cooking, clothing and talking animal, but also a religious animal. Man alone of all the animals has invented methods of invoking or compelling the help of superhuman beings to avoid the real or imaginary evils that threaten him and to secure the things that he ardently longs for. These

methods consisted of religio-magical rituals, the differentitation between religion, the method of praise and offering, and magic or primitive science, the method of compelling the forces of nature to obey man's behests, belonging to later stages of civilization. This religio-magical ritual comprised ritual feasting (preceded, it may be, by fasting,) ritual singing (choral or solo), and ritual dancing. In later times feasting, singing, dancing and the drama were sequestrated from religion and became activities pursued only for immediate pleasure, but this differentitation took a long time to be established. No doubt from the earliest ages of the evolution of man he worshipped some god or gods. In those early days the people were divided into totem-groups, the relics of which are found in tribal names like Iruḷar, Vanniar, etc. In Sanskrit literature we meet with such totem-names as the Vānaras, the monkey tribe, the Ajas, the goat tribe, the Garuḍas, the kite tribe, the Matsyas. the fish tribe, the Vṛṣṇis, the ram tribe, and the Nāgas, the serpent tribe, etc. Of these the Nāgas seem to have been widely prevalent, because we find them in historic times, occupying the North East, the North West, the Central and the South Indian provinces. The Nāga cult probably arose among the cave-dwellers of the hill-country. Besides the totem gods, the people worshipped numerous spirits, those inhabiting trees, rivers, hills; also local gods, guardian deities of villages, the goddesses guarding the boundaries of villages and the demons that caused diseases. Most of these ancient cults exist today in their primitive crudity among the lower classes of the population and even the higher classes have not totally given up resorting to the help of these spirits in times of difficulty. Some of these cults have also been

absorbed by higher cults which mark a higher stage of civilization. Thus the Nāga cult became coalesced with that of Murugan, who was again identified with Subrahmaṇya of the Āryas; for even today, Subrahmaṇya appears to the physical eyes of his devotees only in the form of a serpent; when a devotee of this god has invoked his help, the appearance of a serpent means that the god has granted the prayer. Tree cults have coalesced with the Śiva cult. The most famous of existing Śiva shrines are intimately associated with some tree or other. So too the cult of the health-giving Tulasi plant has coalesced with the worship of Viṣṇu. From the Nāga cult Śiva got his numerous serpent-ornaments, and Viṣṇu his couch of the thousand headed serpent. The Buddha became himself a Nāga and several Bauddha and Jaina saints got five serpent-heads.

But long before these advanced cults, called Āgamika, arose, higher gods than the local demons or the spirits inhabiting trees, rivers and hills, were evolved in the country. These gods were evolved in each region separately and in accordance with the geographical characteristics of each region. The god of the hilly region was the Red God (Śēyōn), also called Murugan, who was the patron of pre-nuptial love. He was offered by his worshippers balls of rice mixed with the red blood of goats killed in his behalf. He was a hunter and carried the Vēl or spear and was hence called Vēlan, spearman. His priest was also called Vēlan. This god created the love-frenzy in girls; and when girls were obsessed by him, the priest performed magic rites for curing the love-sick girl. When the priest was in communion with the god, he was also seized with the divine frenzy and sang and danced a devil-dance

(veṟiyāṭṭam). Women, too, took part in priestly functions. Men or women priests, when under the influence of the god, not only sang and danced, but also read the dim past, predicted the future, diagnosed diseases (and the particular demons that caused each disease), and cured all the ills that the flesh and the brain were heir to. The means of cure were not solely supernatural, for, as the hilly region abounded in simples, the magic of the priests and priestesses was fortified by the use of drugs. Hence the early priest was also the medicine-man and even today, notwithstanding millenniums of philosophical evolution, the devil-priest-cum-medicine-man of the degraded Kuṟavar tribe drives a flourishing trade among the *elite* of society, on the sly.

The god of the pastoral region—Mullai—was the Black God (Māyōn), who was a herdsman, beloved both of milkmaids and of cattle. He was always uttering sweet music with the flute (kuḻal) and its music moved all nature. Besides singing, he delighted in dancing. Surrounded by a crowd of milk-maids, he or his priest danced most complicated dances, as herdsfolk do today. Milk and milk-products, sometimes mixed with boiled rice were his offering. Pastoral life affords more opportunities than a hunter's life for indulging in the delights of love, as it also provides occasions for the temporary parting of lovers, which latter only heightens the pleasure of re-union. The life of the herdsman is the jolliest of all, because, unlike the hunter or the man who sails far out into the sea whose lives are fraught with risks, he does the easy work of leisurely tending cattle in the forest. Hence the Black God of the tenders of cattle is the jolliest of the Indian Gods.

The god of the coastal region was, of course, the dread lord of the sea. The horn of the terrible shark symbolized him in the rituals of his fisherman-worshippers, who crowded on the sea coast, black men and women with children on their hips, and offered him fresh or salted fish and meat. The joys of love were not denied to the fisherfolk; for we read in the literature of a later period that noblemen of the surrounding regions were, notwithstanding the fishy smell of the well-grown limbs of these swarthy dames who embellished their persons with the lilies of the marshes, smitten with love for them, and while their menfolk were away, out on the sea, drove in their carts or chariots to the sea-side to visit their paramours.

In the river-valleys where civilization was more advanced than in the other regions, pre-nuptial love gave way to post-nuptial love. The ancient ceremony of marriage which obtained among the Tamils before it was altered by the Aryans is described in two odes of the anthology called the Agam. Thus it is said:—"There was a huge heap of rice cooked with pulse (even after many guests had been fed). On the floor of a pandal built on long rows of wooden columns was spread freshly brought sand. House-lamps were lighted. The bride and bridegroom were adorned with flower-garlands. In the beautiful morning of the day of the bent, bright moon, when the stars shed no evil influence, some women carrying pots on the head, others bearing new, broad bowls, handed them one after another, while fair elderly dames were making much noise. Mothers of sons, with bellies marked with beauty-spots, wearing beautiful ornaments, poured water on the bride, so that her black hair shone bright with

cool petals of flowers and rice-grains (which had been mixed with the water), and at the same time they blessed her, saying 'do not swerve from the path of chastity, be serviceable in various ways to your husband who loves you and live with him as his wife'. On the night after the marriage ceremony was over, the neighbouring ladies assembled, (dressed the bride in new clothes) and sent her to the arms of her lover, to which she went with trepidation[4]."

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4. உழுந்துதலைப் பெய்த கொழுங்களி மிதவை
பெருஞ்சோற் றமலை நிற்ப நிரைகாற்
றண்பெரும் பந்தர்த் தருமணன் ஞெமிரி
மனைவிளக் குறுத்து மாலை தொடரிக்
கனையிரு ளகன்ற கவின்பெறு காலைக்
கோள்கா னீங்கிய கொடுவெண் டிங்கட்
கேடில் விழுப்புகழ் நாடலை வந்தென
வுச்சிக் குடத்தர் புத்தகன் மண்டையர்
பொதுசெய் கம்பலை முதுசெம் பெண்டிர்
முன்னவும் பின்னவு முறைமுறை தரத்தரப்
புதல்வற் பயந்த திதலையவ் வயிற்று
வாலிழை மகளிர் நால்வர் கூடிக்
கற்பினின் வழாஅ நற்பல வுதவிப்
பெற்றோற் பெட்கும் பிணையை யாகென
நீரொடு சொரிந்த வீரித ழலரி
பல்லிருங் கதுப்பி னெல்லொடு தயங்க
வதுவை நன்மணங் கழிந்த பின்றைக்
கல்லென் சும்மையர் ஞெரேரெனப் புகுதந்து
பேரிற் கிழத்தி யாகெனத் தமர்தர
வோரிற் கூடிய வுடன்புணர் கங்குற்
கொடும்புறம் வளைஇக் கோடிக் கலிங்கத்
தொடுங்கினள்.

Agam 86, ll. 1—22

It will be noticed that in this ancient Tamil rite of marriage there is absolutely nothing Aryan, no lighting of fire, no circumambulation of fire, and no priest to receive dakṣiṇā. Another ode in the same anthology refers also to the wedding-rite. " White rice, well cooked and with plenty of ghi, was served to the elders with stintless generosity. The omens shown by the birds were propitious. The broad sky shone bright. The moon was in faultless conjunction with the Rōhiṇi asterism. The marriage-house was decked. They worshipped God. The big drums resounded with wedding tunes. Excited women were peeping winklessly with their flower-like eyes at the bride who had been bathed (and decorated). The image (to be worshipped) made of big flower-petals, clear like a gem that has been well-washed, was placed on the soft vāgai flower with the double leaf whose back-side is bright, and the aṟugai grass which grows in low land when the roaring clouds pour the first rain and which is eaten by calves. It was decked with cool, sweet flower-buds and white thread, clothed with holy cloth, so as to look grand. The bride (was seated) under a pandal, on the floor of which sand was strewn, looking as if rain-drops had fallen. She was perspiring with her load of ornaments. (They fanned her) to dry the wet. Then her relatives gave her away ".[5]

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5. மைப்புறப் புழுக்கி னெய்க்கனி வெண்சோறு
வரையா வண்மையொடு புரையோர்ப் பேணிப்
புள்ளுப்புணர்ந் தினிய வாகத் தெள்ளொளி
யங்க ணிருவிசும்பு விளங்கத் திங்கட்
சகடம் வேண்டிய துகடீர் கூட்டத்துக்
கடிநகர் புனைந்து கடவுட் பேணிப்
படுமண முழவொடு பருஉப்பணை யிமிழ
வதுவை மண்ணிய மகளிர் விதுப்புற்றுப்

These two poems belong to a later period than we are considering, but certainly describe the wedding rites which prevailed in very old times.

Married life, though commenced under such auspices, often did not run an even course. Post-nuptial love was often put to a temporary or permanent end by the wiles of harlots who seduced husbands from the path of faithfulness to the wedded wife. The institution of harlotry (parattamai) was peculiar to the agricultural tracts, for during the periods of enforced idleness when the grain is ripening in the fields and when the field is lying fallow after harvest, Satan finds some mischief for idle hands to do. The God of this region is the cloud-compeller, he who breaks with his thunderbolt (a tool of stone, like the ancient spear-head of Murugan) the rain-bearing clouds when the lands pant with thirst in summer. He is a lascivious god, surrounded by divine harlots, just as his devotees were by mortal ones. The favourite offering to this God was rice cooked with pulses (called in Tamil pongal.) This feast is still the most popular feast in the agricultural tracts, being the harvest-festival.

பூக்கணு மிமையார் நோக்குபு மறைய
மென்பூ வாகைப் புன்புறக் கவட்டிலை
பழங்கன்று கறிக்கும் பயம்பம லறுகைத்
தழங்குகுரல் வானின் றலைப்பெயற் கீன்ற
மண்ணுமணி யன்ன மாயிதழ்ப் பாவைத்
தண்ணறு முகையொடு வெண்ணூல் சூட்டித்
தூவுடைப் பொலிந்து மேவரத் துவன்றி
மழைபட் டன்ன மணன்மலி பந்த
ரிழையணி சிறப்பிற் பெயர்வியப் பாற்றித்
தமர்நமக் கீந்த.

Agam. 136. ll. 1—18.

The last of the regions was Pālai, the desert, the home of the marauder. Like the adjacent hilly tracts it was the region where the matriarchate persisted for a long period; and hence the divinity of this region was the goddess of victory (Koṟṟavai) and her devotees, the Maṟavar, men of cruel deeds, offered her bloody sacrifices—human and animal. Pālai was the bleak land, appropriately associated with the tragedy of love, that is, the long parting of the lovers, when the hero goes out in search of fortune to lay at the feet of the beloved and has to travel along sandy paths covered with the bleaching bones of the dead. Koṟṟavai was worshipped with wild drunken revelry as may well be imagined.

Four of these five gods are enumerated by Tolkāppiyanār. "The world of forests desired by Māyōn (the black god), the world of hills desired by Śēyōn (the red god), the world of sweet waters desired by the King (of gods) and the world of wide sand desired by Varuṇan, are respectively called Mullai, Kuṟiñji, Marudam and Neydal.[6] It will be noticed that Tolkāppiyanār identifies the old Tamil gods with the corresponding Aryan ones and calls the god of the valleys the king, because he was to the Aryans the king of Svarga and gives to the sea-god the Sanskrit name of Varuṇan. The ancient Tamil names of the two latter are not recoverable; they may

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[6] மாயோன் மேய காடுறை யுலகமுஞ்
சேயோன் மேய மைவரை யுலகமும்
வேந்தன் மேய தீம்புன லுலகமும்
வருணன் மேய பெருமண லுலகமு
முல்லை குறிஞ்சி மருத நெய்தலெனச்
சொல்லிய முறையாற் சொல்லவும் படுமே.

Tol. Por. i. 5.

have been Sēṇōn and Kaḍalōn. Tolkāppiyanār does not name the goddess of the desert, because he omits the Pālai from the list of permanently inhabited regions.

The five Tribes in Northern India:

These five kinds of human culture must have developed in Northern India as well as in Southern India in early times, i.e. before the rise of the Vedas and of the fire-cult for use in which the Vedic mantras were composed. The northern Dasyus must have been divided into the same five tribes as the Southern Dasyus, before the cult of the Āryas was born. North India is divisible into the same five natural regions as South India, but only the regions are larger in size than the southern regions. The same geographical causes operated there and must have led to the same results. Pre-Aryan life in Northern India, then, must have been the same as in South India. But, perhaps about 4,000 B.C., arose in North India, the fire-cult, which was an expression of the belief that fire was the mouth of the gods, and that therefore all offerings to the gods, ought to be put into the blazing mouth of the fire-god. This cult was called the Ārya cult and the old-fashioned people who stuck to the fireless ways of worship were called Dasyus. The followers of the fire-cult adopted the fashion of accompanying their offerings to gods with mantras in Sanskrit composed by the poet-seers called Ṛṣis. How or whence the Sanskrit language came and who the Ṛṣis were, it is impossible to find out. The only fact that we know is that Sanskrit is in vocabulary and structure allied to languages which have spread throughout a large part of Western Asia, Europe and America. Based on this fact and inspired by a supreme ignorance of the difference between race and language has been conceived the theory of the Aryan

invasion of the world, which Anthropology has set its face against. But we are here concerned only with the question how the rise of the Ārya cult altered the life of the people who lived in India before this cult began.

The Northern Dasyus must have been worshipping regional gods, like their Tamil bretheren in that remote epoch. Did the Ārya fire-cult adopt these regional gods and worship them in the new way? This is not the place to discuss this question, but it may be pointed out that when many millenniums after this remote age the Aryan cults migrated to South India, the regional gods of South India were identified with the Aryan gods similar to them in function, the red god with Subrahmaṇya, the black god with Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa, the sea-god with Varuṇa, the sky-god with Indra and the desert-goddess with Durgā. Whether these Aryan gods were themselves the reincarnations of older Dasyu Gods and whether the supremacy of Indra among them during the Vedic Age was the result of riverine folk obtaining supremacy over the tribes of other regions, cannot be taken up for discussion here.

One Vedic phrase seems reminiscent of the division of the people into five regional tribes, and that is pañca-janāḥ. This mysterious phrase has been attempted to be explained by various writers, ancient or modern, but by none satisfactorily. I have made the conjecture that it must refer to the five tribes of pre-Aryan times, but scholars who know nothing of Tamil literature and who refuse to consider the necessity of the historical continuity between pre-Aryan India and Aryan India have been unable to appreciate the value of this conjecture.

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[7] Vide my Stone Age in India, pp. 28-29.

CHAPTER VI.

THE BHĀRATA BATTLE.

The Rise of Tamil Dynasties:

A probable political consequence of the pacification of South India by Rāma was, we may presume, the rise of the three great royal dynasties of Śōḷa, Śēra and Pāṇḍya. Though these names occur in the Rāmāyaṇa it is certain that the dynasties could not have flourished in the ages when the three Rāvaṇas that are mentioned in the Puranas ruled. These Rāvaṇas apparently wielded unrestricted sway all over South India. Janasthāna on the banks of the Gōdāvarī was one of the outposts of the latest Rāvaṇa. His subjects swarmed all south of the Vindhyas and stray bodies of them frequently entered Āryāvartta;, within the boundaries of his realm it was not possible for other dynasties to rule. The three tribes, Śōḷas, Śēras and Pāṇḍyas perhaps existed at the time, but the royal dynasties that rose out of them did not. Later South Indian tradition makes them rule 'from the beginning of creation.' This phrase means really 'from time immemorial'; in other words 'nothing is known about the origin of the three dynasties.' These newly risen Śōḷa, Śēra and Pāṇḍya Rājas kept up the age-long intercourse of South India with North India. After Rāma's death, the predominence of Ayodhyā in the politics of Āryāvartta came to an end. A few generations later, Kuru raised the Paurava realm to eminence and Kurukṣetra became the metropolis of

India. Among the descendants of Kuru arose dissensions and other jealousies developed among the many princes of India, which culminated in the Mahābhārata war, about fifteen generations[1] after Rāma's time. By this time the three South Indian dynasties had developed relations, peaceful and otherwise, with the Northern kings, as is proved by the statements in the Mahābhārata.

The make up of the Mahābhārata:

Before utilising the evidence of the Great Epic, it should be remembered that this work is a composite poem. Its contents may be divided into the following parts :—

(1) Tales of the lives of the heroes of the war and of the battle itself. These, I take it, form the core of the poem and existed probably as ballads from the time of the war and were recited in consolidated form by Śaunaka on the occasion of the great sacrifice in Naimiṣāraṇya during the reign of Adhisīmakṛṣṇa, the sixth in generation from Arjuna in the Pauruva line. The ancient historical ballads were constantly kept in the memory of people by this practice of reciting them during sacrifices. The portion of the Mahābhārata dealing with the life of the heroes may be used as evidence for the existence in the time of the war (c-1400-B.C.), of the men, and the occurrence of the events, mentioned in them.

(2) Purāṇa Tales, stories of kings and their genealogy from the foundations of the Solar and Lunar dynasties which, I think, took place about 3,000 B.C.

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[1] Sita Nath Pradhan. Chronology of Ancient India, p.109. Pargiter makes it out to be twenty generations. Anc. Ind. Hist. Tradition pp.148-9.

down to the period of the Great War. In these tales there is some intrusion of mythological matter, which can be easily differentiated from the historical material. as has to be done in the case of all ancient sources of history, not excluding Herodotos. This historical material has got to be compared with the same found in the Vedas, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Purāṇas. These are derived from the historical ballads recited by court bards from time immemorial, and if critically investigated, are very useful for reconstructing Ancient Indian History, as Mr. Pargiter and Mr. Sita Nath Pradhan have done successfully. Such Purāṇa tales in the Mahābhārata can be used as evidence with regard to the period before the Mahābhārata War. They found their way into the poem long after the war.

(3) Tales of Viṣṇu and Śiva, other than those belonging to the Vedas. These were evolved in the Āgama schools, which rose to prominence in the period succeeding the Bhārata battle. The Āgamas in those days were mainly two—the Bhāgavata and the Māheś-vara. The former dealt with the worship of Viṣṇu and the latter, of Śiva. In the Āgama schools were evolved methods of worshipping Viṣṇu or Śiva or their symbols, tales of Viṣṇu's incarnations and Śiva's appearances among men, special forms of yoga-practices followed by the Ekāntīs and Śiva-yogīs, and the philosophical analysis of man, the microcosm and the universe, the macrocosm, into several principles developed from the categories of Saṅkhya philosophy.

These Āgama teachings were incorporated in an unsystematic form into the Mahābhārata probably some centuries after 1,000 B.C.

(4) Artha Śāstras, Dharma Śāstras and Mokṣa Śāstras. These were ancient treatises on these subjects which were in danger of extinction and acquired a new lease of life by being welded into the Epic and woven into its story as dialogues of its actors. The treatises were more or less amorphous and not like the finished products of later times.

(5) Accounts of various philosophical systems such as the Vedānta, i.e, the teachings of the last chapters of the Vedas, appropriately called the Vedaśiras, i e., the Upaniṣads, the Nyāya, the Vaiśeṣika and above all the Sāṅkhya and the Yoga and the developments of the theories of the two latter systems in the Āgamas Of the last class, the greatest specimen is the Bhagavad Gītā which was the philosophy of the school of the Bhāgavatas and in which the greatest teacher that the world has seen has joined into one, or rather transcended the divergent teachings of, the Vedānta and the Sāṅkhya and has occupied a standpoint far beyond the limited ones from which all other teachers viewed the world and tried to comprehend it.

(6) Geographical chapters. These refer to different localities in India, especially those to which pilgrims in search of holiness travelled.

These latter parts of the Mahābhārata got into the poem from c. 1,000 B.C. to 500 B.C. and led to the Epic being regarded as the fifth Veda.

South India and the War:

In the story of the war, which is the heart of the Mahābhārata, there is evidence that there were political relations between South India and North India. Thus

a Pāṇḍya king was one of those who were present at the Swayamvara of Draupadī.[2] Among the 'divine feats'[3] of Kṛṣṇa narrated by Yudhiṣṭhira, occurs his defeat of the Pāṇḍya Rāja, when the gates of the Pāṇḍyas were broken[4] and was slain the father of Sārangadhvaja[5], who afterwards took part in the war on the side of the Pāṇḍyas. Kṛṣṇa also fought with the Coḷas[6]. When Yudhiṣṭhira began to celebrate the Rājasūya, it was necessary, as a preliminary, to assert his suzerainty over all India by peaceful or warlike means. Sahadeva proceded on a digvijaya to the south and vanquished the Dravidas, Colas, Keraḷas and Paṇḍyas. The Coḷas and the Dravidas as well as the Āndhras were present at the Rājasūya [8]. The Cola and the Pāṇḍya brought presents to Yudhiṣṭhira. [9]. When the great war broke out, the Pāṇḍya Rāja, Sārangadhvaja, son of the king who was defeated by Kṛṣṇa, came with

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[2] MBh. i. 189. 7020.

[3] divyāni karmāṇi.

[4] Ib. vii 11. 398, vii. 23. 1016. In the latter passage occurs the phrase bhinna kapāṭa pāṇḍyānām. Kapāṭa here certainly means 'gate'; hence probably the kapāṭa of the Rāmāyaṇa already referred to (p. 53 supra) also means 'gate' and not the city of Kapāṭapura, as explained by the South Indian commentator.

[5] possibly this name was a translation of மான் கொடியன்.

[6] MBh. vii. 11. 321.

[7] MBh. ii. 31. 1173-4, also 1121.

[8] Ib. ii. 34. 1988

[9] Ib. Ib. 52. 1893

troops to Yudhiṣṭhira [10]. The Keraḷas and the Coḷas, too fought on the side of the Pāṇḍavas [11]. The Pāṇḍya king proceeded against Droṇa and was slain by Aśvatthāmā [12].

Arjuna went on a tour of pilgrimage (tīrthayātrā) soon after it was arranged that the newly wedded wife of the Pāṇḍavas should live with each brother for a year, beginning with Yudhiṣṭhira. In that tour he married Citrāṅgadā, the only child of Citravāhana, ruler of Maṇipura[13]. This place is called Maṇalūr in the South Indian recension of the Great Epic and Maṇalūr is certainly a Tamil name. In another place[14] this wife of Arjuna'a is spoken of as a Pāṇḍava princess. Just before marrying Citrāṅgadā, Arjuna married a Nāga lady of the name of Ulūpī[15]. The places which Arjuna visited in his pilgrimage are mentioned without any regard to geographical sequence, in quite as confused a manner as Sugrīva directed his soldiers to go in search of Sīta. Probably this Ulūpī belonged to a land near the Pāṇḍya country, though she is made to appear suddenly before Arjuna on the banks of the Ganges.

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10. MBh. v 19. 576, vi. 50. 2084. Other recensions give this name as Sāgaradhvaja

11. Ib. viii. 22. 455. 1893.

12. Ib. vi. 23. 1019, viii. 21. 81.

13 Ib. vii. 11. 398 6. Ib. 1. 215. 7826. Maṇi acquired in Tamil the meaning of sapphire and 'sapphire-town' is a good name for a Pāṇḍya capital, for we often hear in old Sanskrit literature and in early inscriptions like that of Khāravela, of the sapphire (maṇi) of the Pāṇḍya country.

14 Ādi Par. vi. 1. 64 (Kumb. ed)

15 MBh. i. 214. 7810.

A digression on the Nāgas :

The Puranas make the Nāgas live in Pātāḷa and Pātāḷa may mean any country far from the heart of Āryāvartta. There are Nāgas to day in the North-East India; the Nāgas of Takṣaśilā in the North-West were responsible for the death of Parīkṣit; there were Nāgas in South India as is evidenced by the names Nāgapaṭṭinam, Nāgūr etc. The Nāga cult *i.e.*, the exclusive worship of the serpent, originally arose probably in the hilly tracts which man inhabited early in the course of his evolution; it was widely prevalent in old times throughout the world and the Nāgas lived everywhere in India in old times. We do not know the reasons which influenced the minds of the ancient tribes when they selected various objects as their totems; but we can well understand why the serpent, which deals swift death was worshipped throughout the world. The imitation of the habits of the totem gods by their worshippers is well-known to students of the ways of the savage men; and the analogy of the ancient cave-dweller creeping into a cave for shelter and the serpent crawling into his nest much have filled savage minds with a sense of devotion to their god.[16]

After the cults of Śiva and Viṣṇu arose, several people remained primarily Nāga-worshippers without joining these other cults and were therefore distinguished from the rest of the population by being specially called

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[16] Even to-day certain Śaiva devotees utter inarticulate cries like that of the bull, the first devotee of Siva, in the hope that they would please the Nandi by imitating him and thus secure a powerful intermediary between them and their God.

Nāgas. In South India Malabar was the headquarters of the Nāgas. Below I refer to two indications from the Bauddha Jātaka that this was so. In the Pattupāṭṭu which belongs to the latter half of the first half of the first millennium after Christ, there is lauded a prince called Tiraiyan who was brought to the shore by the waves of the sea[17]. The commentator explains this by referring to a legend that a Śōḷa Chief of Nāgapaṭṭinam went to pātāḷa and there fell in love with a Nāga lady and she sent to him the child of their union floating on the waves (tirai) of the sea[18]. This shows that the Tamils communicated with the Nāga world by sea, probably skirting the South coast of India. In the Maṇimēgalai, a poem belonging to an age later than that of the Pattuppāṭṭu, is told the story of another Śōḷa, this time a ruler of Kāvirippaṭṭinam, called Neḍumuḍikkiḷḷi, who fell in love with a Nāga lady whom he chanced to meet in a grove near his capital. She disappeared after a month[19], After sometime she sent the son born to them in a ship belonging to one Kambaḷa Śeṭṭi, but the ship was wrecked near the coast[20] When the Śōḷa king heard of this shipwreck, he went about searching for the child and forgot to perform the annual Indra-feast and hence the city was destroyed by the waves. These legends indicate that communication was maintained from the East coast to the Nāga land by sea.

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[17] அங்நீர்த் திரைதருமரபின். Perumbāṇaṟṟuppaḍai, ll. 30-31,

[18] Pattuppāṭṭu p. 153.

[19] Maṇimēgalai xxiv. ll. 29-43.

[20] Ib. xxv ll. 178-192. The Kambaḷas and the Assataras were tribes according to the Bhūridatta Jātaka No. 543.

The speech of the Nāgas was not Tamil, but it was not impossible for a Tamil man to master it. The man that had mastered the language was a śetti called Śāduvan who wanted to trade with Vaṅga, but his ship was caught in a storm and was driven to the shores of the naked nomads, the Nāgas, from whose hands he was able to escape owing to his mastery of their language;[21] he returned laden with presents of sandalwood, thin cloth and jewels. The natural inference from these facts is that in South India the Nāga land was what we now call Malabar. Malabar is still the part of India where Nāga worship prevails on a large scale. The word 'Nāyar', the name of the principal tribe of Malabar, has perhaps to be derived for Nāgar. Moreover, we may suppose that the ancient Nāgas of South India grew, like other ancient South Indians, a whole head of hair and, I believe that as the imitation even of gods is the sincerest form of flattery, the worshippers of the serpent combed their hair, gathered it up to the top of the head and knotted it so that the knot stood up, making the face of the worshipper look like the expanded hood of a cobra. I have seen men in South India whose head is dressed in this style and I guess that the ancient Nāgas tried to make their head look like that of their god. This perhaps explains why when shaving was introduced among such people, the top knot was left intact, because wearing it was too old, and hence too sacred, a custom to be given up. As the Nairs have kept up this style of hair-dressing to this day, they are probably the modern representatives of the ancient Nāgas. I also take it

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[21]. அவர் பாடை மயக்கறு மரபிற்
கற்றன னாதலின்.
Maṇ xvi ll. 60-61

that the Nambūdiris were the Nāgas who first accepted the Aryan cult from the physical or spiritual descendants of Pāraśurāma.

That the Nambūdiris of Malabar form the earliest stratum of South Indian Brāhmaṇas is proved by the following facts taken from an article by K. Ramavarma Raja:—[22]

(1) Most of the Yajurvedīs among them belong to the early Sūtras of Baudhāyana and Bādūlaka.

(2) Only the first three Vedas are current among them. Thus they must have arisen before the Atharva Veda Samhitā was included in the list of Vedas, i. e. long before the age of Veda Vyāsa.

(3) Not more than one sacred thread is ever worn at the same time. The wearing of two or more threads is a later custom.

(4) They retain the Vedic customs of post-puberty marriage and consummation on the fourth day.

(5) Śrāddhas are performed on the day of the Nakṣatram under which the man died and not on the tithi of his death.

Therefore the claim of the Nambūdiris that Paraśurāma was their first preceptor is not absurd on the face of it.

From this discussion we may conclude that Ulūpī whom Arjuna took to wife temporarily was a Malabar lass.

The Agastyas:

Before the age of the Mahābhārata, the Āgastyas must have spread to the extreme South of the peninsula. In the Epic, as in the Purāṇas, all the Āgastyas, are spo-

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[22]. J. R. A. S. 1910. pp. 625—639.

ken of as one Agastya Ṛṣi, though different Āgastyas resided in different places at different times. Thus the Mahābhārata refers to the old Agastya āśramam at Pañchavaṭī [23]; it also speaks of another Agastya hermitage, at Saūbhadrā on the ocean [21]; there is besides an "Agastya Tīrtham among the Pāṇḍyas", one of the five nārītīrthas [24]. Perhaps this last refers to the Pāpanāśām falls, in the Tinevelly district, the waters of which are believed to take their rise from the Podiya hill, where according to Tamil tradition Agastya fixed his permanent abode after coming to the Tamil country.

In the list of the Nārītīrthas occurs the first mention of the sea at the Cape Comorin, as a sacred bathing place, called the Kumārī-tīrtha, in the country of the Pāṇḍyas. [25]

This tīrtha is also called Kanyā tīrtha. Thus the legend of Kumārī waiting for Śiva at the southernmost corner of India had been evolved in this age; but the Tamils had nothing to do with this legend or with the idea of Cape Comorin being a holy spot, for there is no Tamil name for the Cape. Thus from the evidence of the Great Epic we can safely conclude that there was very intimate intercourse between the Northern Āryas and the Tamils in the age of the Mahābhārata War.

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[23] M Bh. iii. 99. 8632.

[24] M Bh. i. 21646, 217. 7577.

[25] M Bh. iii. 88. 8339. iii. 118. 10267.

All the references to the Mahābhārata are from Sorenson's Index.

CHAPTER VII

FOREIGN TRADE IN THE II MILLENNIUM B.C.

Increase of Foreign Trade:

The Mahābhārata mentions non-Indian tribes as having contributed contingents to the contending armies, such as [1]Cīnas, Yavanas[2], etc. There is nothing instrinsically absurd in this statement, which implies that there were political relations between North Indian kings and those of centuries outside India in the age of the Mahābhārata. Whether this was true or no, there is some evidence that the commercial relations which existed between South India on the one hand and Babylonia, Arabia and Egypt on the other, in the Vedic Age, flourished in the II millennium B C. The Nordic tribes of the Northern Steppe regions, or to use Tamil technical terms, the Āyar of the great Nor hern Mullai region, who, as I hold contrary to current ethnological theories, had nothing to do with the Āryas of India, migrated westward in about 2,000 B.C., and destroyed the old land-trade from Khotan to the East Mediterranean coast and cut off the ancient trade in jade-stone between China and one of the earlier towns of Troy. The tide of trade thus dammed in the North bent South and led to a further dovelopment of the sea-trade of India in general and South India in particular.

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[1] Cīnas fought in the contingent of Bhagadatta of Prāgjyotiṣa. MBh. v. 18. 584.

[2]. Ib. ii. 50. 18 321.

Trade with Egypt:

"There are numerous records of the receipt of ivory in commerce and as tribute under the XVII dynasty (1580-1350 B.C.), . . . also articles made of ivory: chairs, tables, chests, statues, and whips."[3] These come from various places, among which was Punt (Somaliland), the great entrepot of trade between Egypt and India in those days; this indicates that, as in earlier times, ivory and ivory articles went from the west coast of India to the Nile valley.

Under the XVIII or Theban dynasty great Egyptian fleets were sent to Punt "which brought back great store of myrrh, ebony and ivory, gold, cinnamon, incense, eye-paint, apes, monkeys, dogs, panther-skins," etc. From Syria, too, were annually remitted "great quantities of Arabic and Eastern treasure—incense, oil, grain, wine, gold and silver, precious stones" and from Babylon, lapis lazuli. "In the XX dynasty, under Rameses III (1198-1167 B.C.), it seemed as if the resources of the nation were poured into the lap of Amon. . . . And in the Papyrus Harris, that great record of his gifts and endowments to Amon, compiled for his tomb, there are such entries every year as 'gold, silver, lapis lazuli, malachite, precious stones, copper, garment of royal linen, . . . cinnamon 246 measures. (The quotations are from Breasted, Ancient Records of Egypt)."[4] Of the articles mentioned in the above quotations, ebony has already been shown to have probably gone from South India. The precious stones (including lapis lazuli) will be shown to have

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[3] Schoff's Periplus, p. 61.

Ib. pp. 121-122.

been imported in later times from India by western countries; this trade most probably began during the days of great prosperity under the XVIII dynasty, when all the countries which had trade relations with Egypt were scoured for offerings to Amon. "Goodchild says, the sapphire [which they called lapis lazuli] has been known from very remote times by the Egyptians, and to a lesser extent by the Assyrians. Epiphanias, Bishop of Salamis, says the Tables of the Law given to Moses were inscribed on lapis lazuli."[5] The garments of royal linen were of Indian muslin, because linen being then manufactured in Egypt itself, the imported article must have been superior cotton cloth which in those days, as later, India alone could supply. As regards the apes, monkeys, dogs and panther skins, there is some probability that a part, if not the whole of these imports, was from India, for half-a-millennium later, as will be pointed out in Chapter X, just these articles and allied ones were sent from India to western countries. With regard to cinnamon, it may be pointed out that "the Egyptian inscriptions of Queen Hatshepsust's expedition in the XV Century B.C., mention cinnamon wood as 'one of the marvels of the Country of Punt,' which were brought back to Egypt."[6] But cinnamon was not produced in Punt at all; it was taken thither from Indian ports by Arabian merchants, who concealed from the Western people the fact of its Indian origin for keeping the monopoly of its trade in their hands. The cinnamon grew in Malabar and China but the Arabian merchants who took it to the western countries caused false stories

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[5] Schoff's Periplus, p. 171.

[6] Ib. p. 82.

about its African origin to grow up. Pliny has a "passage instructive in its vagueness. With reference to a kind of cinnamon in his time much in favour, he says that the king of the Arabians called Gebbanitæ, whose capital was Thomna, once had the sole right of control, regulating sales by edict; the price of the juice had been as much as one thousand denarii, and even fifteen hundred denarii a pound, through the burning of the plantations at the hands of wild men, whether by malicious acts of those in power, or by mere chance, it was not certain. Some of Pliny's authorities accounted for such a disaster by the explanation that the south winds blew so strongly as to kindle the plantations. Here we have two points to note—firstly, strict control of cinnamon trade by an Arabian ruler, and secondly a false explanation to account for a failure in supplies by alleging a local cause instead of a real one, which might be for instance some disastrous storm experienced during the voyage from Indian regions. But a truthful explanation such as this could not be given to western merchants without revealing the true source of cinnamon. The Arabians would be capable, we may be sure, of holding back supplies and accounting for the lack by giving some false but plausible explanation merely with the object of inducing the Greeks to pay a still higher price than was usual for a spice in great demand among the wealthy. Bengalese, Coromandel, Malabar and North-west Indian shipping must have brought most of it from China and India to the Arabians frequenting the marts of West India or West Africa."[7] This proves that the remarks of Greek and Latin writers about the origin of the articles they write

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[7] Warmington, op. cit. pp. 192-3.

about should not be taken at their face-value and that the Egyptians of the II Millennium B.C. got Chinese and Indian cinnamon taken on Indian ships to Aden or the Somali coast and therefore, that cinnamon was not "one of the marvels of the country of Punt," as the Egyptians believed and as the Greek traders of later times thought.

Among the 'Eastern treasure,' mentioned above as supplied from Punt to Egypt we notice 'oil' and 'grains.' The oil was the gingelly oil which, we know from the Periplus, was regularly exported from India in later times. 'Anointment' was a ceremony undergone by kings and priests and the oil was also required for making unguents with. In Egypt and Syria there were manufactories where these unguents were prepared. The 'grains' probably included rice, the great sorghum and the spiked millet.

The expedition of Queen Hatshepsust also brought ebony from the land of Punt. Punt being the land to which Indian goods were systematically taken from India, there is much likelihood that the Queen got the excellent Indian ebony from Malabar forests.[8]

Trade with Palestine:

A little before the end of the second millennium B.C. the Hebrews ended their servitude in Egypt and migrated to Palestine and among them 'sweet spices' were counted holy. On the rise of Israel's prosperity trade became important. So we learn that cinnamon, brought by Arabian merchants from India, became one of the ingredients of the sacred anointing oil of the Hebrew priests (Exod. XXX). It has already been mentioned that the sapphire was also procured from

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[8] Schoff's Periplus, p. 153.

India; and we may safely conclude that all the articles that Egypt got from India were also imported into Palestine.

Trade with China:

If Chinese cinnamon found its way to the coasts of Arabia and East Africa in Indian shipping it follows that there must have commercial intercourse between China and India in the II millennium B. C There exists few written records of this trade. The Mahābhārata mentions silk from China among the tributes received by Yudhiṣṭhira.[9] "Chinese annals mention voyages to Malacca prior to the Christian era and probably as early as the XII century B. C."[10] Hence Malaya was the entrepot of this trade. One article in daily use in the Tamil country, the betel leaf. though eaten profusely by the Tamils, was not orginally a native of India; it has no proper name in Tamil but is called by the artificial name of veṟṟilai, 'the, mere leaf',[11] being the only leaf eaten as leaf, without being cooked; in other Indian languages, too, it is called 'the leaf', showing it was given this name on its introduction most probably from Malaya.[12] Kings and nobles were always attended upon by a valet, called

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[9] Cīna samudbhavan aurnam. MBh. II. 51.1843.

[10] Schoff's Periplus, p. 246.

[11] For a discussion on the evidential value of names divided into 'Symbolic' and 'Causal', iḍukuṟi and kāraṇappeyar, in Tamil grammars, vide my Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture, pp. 13-16.

[12] The earliest certain reference to the habit of the eating of the betel leaf is found in Silappadigāram xvi. 55 (which was composed probably in the V. or VI century A.D.), where Kannagi gave her husband who had

அடப்பைக்காரன், the Betel-leaf-bag-holder. Such valets are called pāśavar, பாசவர் men with pāśu, the green leaf, and were one of the eight personal attendants of a King, called eṇpērāyam எண்பேராயம், 'the group of eight.'

But the chief trade with China was in silk and sugar which were originally made in that country and thence imported to India. Their Tamil names are but metaphorical extensions of the names of other articles. Thus paṭṭu originally meant a fold, a cloth folded many times and worn on the shoulders; as silk cloth was so worn, the name was extended to it. Silk was also called śīnam, that which came from China. Śarkkarai, a word borrowed from Sanskrit, orginally meant sand; the name was extended to sugar because its grains look like those of sand. Akkāram orginally meant the sugar-cane and the name was metonomically extended to the sugar-cane products, jaggery and sugar. Sugar was also called śīni, the product of China. Silk and sugar were originally exchanged for incense, red coral, costus and pepper. South Indians also acted as intermediaries of trade between China and western Asia. Its usual route was via Khotan but when as frequently happened, that route was interrupted by incursions of Turki tribes, the path of trade was turned south and the Tamil ports became the meeting points of the trade between the West and the East of Asia.

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just dined rolls of betel-leaf (taraiyal) with areca nuts (aḍaikkāi) to chew, அம்மென் றிரையலோடடைக்காயீத்த. The tiny bag stitched in various folds to hold the betel, areca nut, chunam etc., so largely used now, existed also in early times and was called aḍaippai, the bag for nuts. In the Śilappadigāram xvi. 128 a betel-leaf box made of gold தமனிய வடப்பை, is mentioned.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RISE OF THE ĀGAMAS.

The Āgamas vs. The Vedas:

Nearly thirty years ago, I pointed out in my Outliness of Indian philosophy that the religion that is practised to-day by the Hindus is almost entirely based on the Āgamas and has little or nothing to do with the Vedas. The vaidika cult began to decay after the war of the Mahābhārata and has to-day almost died out. The greater part of the Śrauta karma is entirely gone; only a few elementary rites, such as Agni ādhāna, a much-simplified Vājapeya, Garuḍa cayana, and Somayāga are sporadically performed by a handful of people. The Smārta karma is also fast dying out, so that judged by the rule that the family of a Brāhmaṇa whose members have neglected to tend the holy fire for three generations loses its Brāhmaṇa status, extremely few families can be regarded as true Brāhmaṇa ones. Yet India is intensely religious; but this intensity of religion is confined to the cults of the Āgamas and not to those of the Vedas. The distinction between the Āgamas[1]

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[1] In speaking of the Āgama I am not unaware of the fact that one of the meanings of the word is āptavacana. the testimony of those who know, and thence another meaning of the word Āgama was evolved; as the greatest of āptavacana is the Veda, the Veda is sometimes called the Āgama. Literally the word āgama means that which has come from the past. But yet the Āgama is technically the name

and the Vedas, was well-understood in ancient days, when the Āgamika cults were the rivals of the Vaidika cults; but as the two have now become amalgamated for several centuries, the distinction between them is not realized by moderns, all the more so as the theory is now prevalent that the Āgamas are ultimately derived from the Vedas and do but contain amplifications of the Vedic teaching or rather adaptations of them to suit the modern age. The Vedas, after the end of the age of the composition of the Mantras, came to be regarded as apauruṣeya, not made even by Iśvara, who after all is but a Puruṣa above the limitations of time and space. But the Āgamas (Śaiva, Śākta, Vaiṣṇava) only claimed to have emanated from the lips of Śiva or Viṣṇu and are therefore technically pauruṣeya.

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of the Tantras, the books dealing with the worship of Śiva, Viṣṇu and Śakti and, in this sense, the Āgama cults are opposed to the Vedas. The scriptures of the Bauddhas and the Jainas are also called Āgamas, because they too have come down from the past. All these Āgamas, in their inception, were opposed to the Vedas, i. e. the Karma Kāṇḍa. The Śaiva Āgama school was also called the Māheśvaṛa and the Pāśupata. The Vaiṣṇava Āgamas were also called the Bhāgavata (i. e. relating to the Lord, Sāttavata (possibly because the Sāttavata royal dynasty first patronised them) and the Pāñcarātra. This latter word has another meaning too. It also means a special ritual of the worship of Viṣṇu images and is, in this sense, contrasted with the ritual followed by the Vaikhānasas. Besides this particular use of the word Vaikhānasa, as the name of a particular ritual, the word also refers to forest-dwelling Sanyāsīs generally.

The contents of the Vedic Samhitā are all mantras, intended to be recited during the Vaidika rites, but the Agamas are text-books containing a description of the rites of Śiva or Viṣṇu worship, of Yoga practices and philosophical analyses. The Vedas—both the Mantra-portion and the Brāhmaṇa-portion—or to refer to a different sub-division, Karma Kāṇḍa and the Jñāna Kāṇḍa, or the Veda and the Veda śiras, require a Mīmāmsa but the Agamas, being systematic text-books require, if at all, only a commentary. The Vedas are in the early dialect called Candas, whereas the Āgamas are in the Bhāṣa. which began to prevail after c. 1000 A. D. So much with regard to the Scriptures. Now with regard to the rites. The Vaidika rites are fire rites. For each rite a fire has to be lighted and intensified into a flame and on the flame the oblations have to be poured. The Āgamika rites are fire-less ; the oblations have to be merely exhibited to the object of worship and then taken away. In the former the oblation is consumed by the gods, because it is thrown on fire ; in the latter, the worshipper loses nothing of his offering because the god can take up only the subtle and unseen parts, so the worshipper consumes it himself and distributes it to his relations and friends. In the Vaidika rites a series of gods are invoked, each of whom has a separate function in the scheme of the universe ; in the Āgamika rites only one god who is, like Jehovah a jealous god is worshipped and he has all the cosmic functions in his own hands. In the Vedic rites not only is every offering accompanied by a Vedic mantra, but every act of the performer, e.g. yoking bulls to a cart for bringing Soma, cutting a stick to help to drive the bull, grasping with the hands an offering,

boiling milk, making buttermilk, in fact every action, small or big, is accompanied by the recitation of a mantra, poetical or prose. But in the Āgamika rites Vedic mantras have no legitimate place. A few are used, here and there, but most inappropriately. Thus a mantra which begins with the syllable dhū is used for offering incense (dhūpa), though the mantra really refers to the lifting of the yoke of a cart. But the main part of the Āgamika rite consists in the repetition of the numerous names of the gods worshipped with the phrase namaḥ (I bow) added. The essence of the Vaidika rites is the pouring of oblations, but that of the Āgamika one is upacāra, washing, decking, and feeding the god, in fact showing him all the attentions due to a human guest or a human king. Hence in the Vaidika rite no physical representation or representative of the deity worshipped was necessary, visible fire representing all the gods; in the Āgamika rite, the only deity worshipped had to be represented by some visible emblem, the emblem being a fetish, a tool, such as a sword or a club, a living or dead tree, a stone, a running stream, a liṅga, a śālagrāma, or, above all, a picture, or a statue of the deity in brick and mortar, stone, or metal, made in the shape assigned to him by his worshippers.

The Vedānta:

The culmination of the Veda is the Vedānta, of (Vaidika) Karma is Jñāna. The means of reaching immortality is knowledge; as the Śruti has it, tam evam vidvān amṛta iha bhavati, nānyaḥ panthā ayanāya vidyate, 'it is by knowing him that (one) becomes immortal here; there is no other path for going (to him).' The culmination of the Āgama way is Bhakti. The

means of reaching immortality is ananya cintā, 'uninterrupted meditation on him alone.' or as Śrī Kṛṣṇa says pointedly eka bhaktih, 'devotion to the one' The thirty two vidyās taught in the Upaniṣads are the forms of discipline through some of which one ought to go before he could reach the goal. The caryā and kriyā (*i.e.*, the fiist and second) books of the Āgamas describe the means of worship of Śiva or Viṣṇu, but as the descipline of bhakti has in many cases to be supplemented by some psychological discipline in the form of yoga-practice, the third book of every Āgama text deals with yoga ; the fourth book of the Āgamas deals with jñāna, not the Jñāna above referred to, but jñāna in the sense of the exposition of the philosophical principles underlying the Āgama teaching. This philosophy is absolutely different from the Vedānta, since the latter posits only one reality behind the Universe—Brahma—and the former posits the tatva trayam, three-fold reality, Iśvara, the individual and matter. Though each Āgama thus possesses a yoga pāda and a jñana pāda, the Āgamas are primarily the scriptures of the Bhakti Mārga, as the Upaniṣads are the scriptures of the Jñāna Mārga. The former is for the many and the latter is for the select. The former is an easy path and the latter a difficult one. As Srī Kṛṣṇa says, 'Great is the pain (to be undergone) by those whose heart is set upon the unmanifest ; the path of the unmanifest brings much pain to the beings who are embodied.'[2]

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[2] kleśodhikaras teṣām avyaktāsakta cetasām | avyaktāhigatir dukkham dehavadbhir avāpyatə ‖. Bhag. Gīta vii. 5.

The Vaidika rites required the division of the people into four varṇas and led to the exclusion of the members of the last varṇa from the study of the Veda and the Vedānta. The division of the people into four varṇas led also to the development of the Varṇāśrama Dharma and to the distribution of the āśramas among the varṇas. The upshot of this was the doctrines that Sanyāsa was open alone to the Brāhmaṇas and that mokṣa was attainable only after the special training involved in the life of the Sanyāsī. The corrolary of these doctrines was that mokṣa according to the Vaidika path, was reachable only by Brāhmaṇas. The Āgamas set their face against these doctrines. Any one, even a caṇḍāḷa, can obtain an image or a symbol of Viṣṇu or Śiva and make pūjā to him. The Tamil legends of the Śivanaḍiyār refer to low-caste Śaiva devotees who worshipped Śiva in shrines; Kaṇṇappa Nāyanār offered meat to Siva in the Kāḷahasti shrine. One of the Vaiṣṇava hymnists probably of the VIIIth century A.D, was a Pāṇan, a member of a low caste whose feet were so degraded as to unfit them to tread on the holy soil around Śrīraṅgam temple. The Āgamas did not recognize the four castes; but the Vedānta, being technically a part of the Veda, was a sealed book to the Śūdras. Bādarāyaṇa has a special section establishing this view, that because Śūdras are not entitled to ceremonial purifications, they are prohibited from hearing and studying the Vedas[3]. The Āgamas on the contrary were open to all men; so much so that even to-day, a Pariah who has received Śivadīkṣa can give this dīkṣa to a Brāhmaṇa and thus become the Guru of the latter. The institution of the Sanyāsa too spread among the followers of the

[3] Ved. Sūtras I. iii. 35—38.

Āgamas. The Vaiṣṇava sanyāsīs were called ekāntīs and the Śaiva sanyāsīs, Śivayogis ; according to the fundamental principles of the Āgamas, Sanyāsa is not a necessary preliminary to Mokṣa, for Bhakti, open to all castes, can steer even a householder across the ocean of Samsāra ; if these Bhaktas became sanyāsīs, it was because the practice of yoga became a part—not necessarily integral—of the Āgama teaching and the practice of yoga was rendered easy by a life of Sanyāsa.

Rivalry between the Vaidikas and the Āgamikas.

In ancient days, there was much animosity between the Vaidikas and the Āgamikas. The latter denounced the shedding of blood in the name of the gods and were opposed to the eating of all meat, and especially of beef. Echoes of their condemnation of bloody sacrifices are heard in the Mahābhārata and ultimately led to the substitution of the piṣṭapaṣu, animal figurines made of starch, for living cattle in the yajñas performed by people who, in later days, followed an eclectic path, compounded of the Vaidika and Āgamika ones. The Bhagavad Gītā, was primarily a scripture of the subdivision of the Āgamikas, called Bhāgavatas ; Srī Kṛṣṇa combined the Bhakti teachings of the Bhāgavatas with the Jñāna teaching of the Vedānta and the supremely subtle metaphysics of the Sāṅkhya, and spoke from a suprenal place whence these varying systems are seen to be but different aspects of the one Truth and taught this transcendental Truth to Arjuna. But yet the Bhagavad Gītā retains enough of its original Āgamika characteristic in that it denounces in very violent terms the Veda, i.e., the Karma Kāṇḍa. "The unwise, who delight in vedic disputations, O Pārtha, say these flowery words, 'there is nothing else (than the karma

path)'. Their hearts are filled with desire and they aspire for (the enjoyments in) svarga, and (they aim) at what gives rebirth and the fruit of Karma, and what is full of innumerable ceremonial rites and follow the path of enjoyment and power. Devoted to enjoyment and power, with hearts subjugated by them, their buddhi which can give them certain knowledge is not steadied in peaceful meditation. The Veda deals with things charged with the three guṇas; but Arjuna, be above the things characterized by the three gunas."[4] Besides, there are in the Bhagavad Gītā a number of technial terms peculiar to the Āgamas.

The Vaidikas, on the other hand, regarded the Āgamikas with supereme contempt. This was but the continuation of the derision with which the Āryas of old spokeof the Dasyu, the reciter of the mantras, of the mridravācaḥ. There is a trace of this contempt even to-day, though the Vaidika and the Agamika paths have been blended together as one since the days of Yāmunācārya, for the temple-priests, both of the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava variety, are regarded as inferior Brāhmaṇas by strict Vedāntīs; in fact, even fifty years ago there existed to my knowledge followers of the Advaitâ Vedānta, who would not enter any temples. The Vedānta, which was the culmination of the Veda, also

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[4] yāmimām puṣpitām vācampravadantyavipaścitaḥ | vedavāda rathāḥ pārtha nānyadastītivādinaḥ || kāmātmānaḥ svargaparāḥ janmakarma phalapradām | kriyā viśeṣa bahulām bhogaiśvarya phalamprati || bhogaiśvarya prasaktanām tayāpahṛta cetasām | vyavasāyātmikā buddhiḥ samādhauna vidhīyate || traiguṇya viṣayā vedā nistraiguṇyo bhavārjuna || Bhag. Gītā ii. 42-45.

severely condemned the Āgamika path; Bādarāyaṇa denounced both the Pāśupata[5] and the Pāñcarātra in his Sūtras.[6]

When the Agamas rose:

Now I shall discuss the question, when the Agama teachings were conceived and whence they were derived. The first question is not difficult to answer. Just as the frightful massacre during the recent great war is bringing about a new order of things—only what it will be it is too soon to guess—the great carnage of the Mahābhārata, led to profound changes in the life of India. The Age of the Ṛṣis who were the seers of mantras, mantra-draṣṭāraḥ, passed away never to return. A profound pessimism, i.e., discontent with the life of the enjoyments of the senses, here and hereafter, in the Bhūloka as well as in the Svargaloka, which alone the Karma Kāṇḍa of the Veda promised, seized the people. The thinkers sought a way out of evil in various ways of meditation on the Brahma Paramam, which alone is the changeless (akṣara), in the midst of changing phenomena (nāmarūpa), and the thirty-two vidyās of the Upaniṣads were born. The Upaniṣads were evolved out of the Karma Kāṇḍa, so much so that the traces of the methods of the Kārma Kaṇḍa are visible in some of the aupaniṣada vidyās described in the Chāndogya and the Bṛhadāraṇyaka. The bulk of the people, however, were weaklings; their lungs felt choked in rising to the sublime heights of the aupaniṣada teachings and practices. For them were evolved the Āgamika teachings and practices; these partook of the nature of the ordinary life of the world, for the methods of the

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[5] Vedānta Sūtras II ii. 37-41.

[6] Ib. II ii. 42-44.

worship of the gods is but a copy of the methods of the worship of men—chiefly gurus and kings. Thus we see that the post-Bhārata age was the time when the Upaniṣads and the chief Āgamas came into being.

The origin of the Āgamas :

The second question, whence arose the Āgamika practices, is a little more difficult to answer. The Āgamika methods of worship being entirely fire-less and not being accompanied by the recitation of Vedic mantras, must have been developed from the Dasyu rites. The Dasyu rites certainly prevailed throughout India, in the South and in the North, before the rise of the Ārya rites. The Vedas and the subsidiary Vedic literature are so vast and so all-engrossing that no one ever asks himself the question, what became of the Dasyu rites during the Vedic Age. European scholars are so engrossed with their interpretation of the quarrels of the Aryas and the Dasyus as racial ones and with the problem of the merging of the latter in the former that they never stop to enquire about the history of the Dasyu rites after the spread of the Ārya ones. To enable us to answer this question satisfactorily, we ought to remember that the Śrauta sacrifices were not the rites of a religion of the masses, of what might be called a popular religion, in that only Brāhmaṇa priests (ṛtviks) alone could take part in them and though the kings, the nobles and the merchants who were rich enough to pay for their performance could obtain the unseen benefits of the yajñas, they could not participate in the rites. The Atharva Veda does contain the mantras to be used in various domestic fire-rites but there is absolutely no evidence to prove that these rites were practised by all and sundry, by the elect few as well as

by the masses. The common folk must have had religious practices of their own, other than the fire-rite all during the Vedic Age, and these must have been the old Dasyu rites. Is there any way of finding out what kinds of rites they were and what gods the common people worshipped? Tamil India like North India pursued Dasyu fireless rites before the rise of the Ārya fire-cult and a sketch of the religion of the ancient Tamils has already been given. The common folk of North India must have continued to worship the same regional gods without fire in the Vedic Age as they did before that age began. The Dasyu ritual like the ritual of the Savaras to-day consisted in offering food to the deity to the accompaniment of ritual singing and ritual dancing. That was how, according to Vālmīki, the coronation of Sugrīva was celebrated, a coronation being in those days not a secular but a religious ceremonial.

As the fire-rite declined after the war of the Mahābhārata the Brāhmaṇa priests, finding their occupation gone, must have turned their attention to the fireless rites still prevailing in the country. The attractiveness of Bhakti to people who are of the emotional temperament as most people are—for men of the severe intellectual temperament whose minds can live on a pabulum of airy abstractions are always rare—must have been another factor in turning the attention of Brāhmaṇas to the path of the Bhakta. They worked out the idea of the Trimūrti, correlating it with the Sāṅkhya doctrine of the triple guṇa of matter, they evolved the doctrines of the many avatāras[8] of Viṣṇu and the innumerable, but temporary human manifesta-

[8] The Bhāgavata Purāṇa mentions at least 22.

tions of Śiva[9], and they gradually composed 108 Vaiṣṇava Āgamas and 28 Śaiva Āgamas ; later was developed another Āgama school, that of Śakti, which boasts of 77 Agamas. The existence of Śiva-worship and Kṛṣṇa-worship in his days is testified to by Pāṇini.

Slowly, very slowly the Vedānta and the Āgama schools gravitated towards each other. In the Puranas, they exist side by side, and are not blended into one. Even in the time of Śaṅkarācārya (VIII century A D), we find they were not amalgamated into one. For in expounding the Vedānta Sūtras he follows Bādarāyaṇa in regarding the Pāśupata and the Pāñcarātra schools as heretical ; yet his Prapañca Hṛdaya is a pure Āgama work, and he is called ṣaṇmatasthāpanācārya, because according to tradition he systematized the worship of Viṣṇu, Śiva, Śakti, Gaṇapati, Subrahmaṇya and Sūrya and introduced it in the ritual observed in the Maṭhas founded by him. Thus we see that he kept his Vedānta and Āgamika works strictly apart from each other. It was Yāmunācārya, the founder of the Vaiṣṇava Vedānta, usually called the Viśiṣṭhādvaita Vedānta, that first pleaded for the authority (prāmāṇya) of the Vaiṣṇava *i.e.*, sāttvika Āgamas as equal to that of the Vedas and it was Rāmānujācārya that first actually blended them into one. But this took place long after the Āgamika teachings migrated to South India ; when and how they spread in South India will be discussed later on.

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[9] Brahma was left in the cold by the Āgamas, because he could not lead to Mokṣa, being one whose activity was exhausted with the act of creation.

The rise of the Āgama schools in North India has been discussed in so much detail, because the Āgama rites, evolved from Pre-Aryan Indian cults, were destined to subjugate the minds of South India in the V and VI century A.D. and when blended with the Vedānta, to flow back to North India and become the living Hinduism of the last thousand years.

CHAPTER IX.

NORTH INDIA AND SOUTH INDIA :

1000 B.C.—500 B.C.

Āpastamba and Baudhāyana :

Āpastamba, almost the last of the Sūtrakāras, lived and taught in the upper valley of the Godāvarī and legislated for the Dākṣinātya Brāhmaṇas of the Yajur Veda. According to Buhler he cannot be placed later than the V century B.C.[1] I am inclined to place him at least two centuries earlier, in view of the fact that he speaks of Śvetaketu, who belonged to the 5th generation after the Bhārata battle[2] *i.e.*, the XIII century B. C. as an 'avara' or 'a recent personage.' Moreover Buhler has pointed out that Āpastamba " did not follow Pāṇini's Grammar" and it is "very unlikely that he knew it at all."[3] Most probably he lived earlier than Pāṇini. Most European scholars have not yet released themselves from the prejudiced view that Pāṇini lived in the IV century B. C. though Goldstucker and Sir R. B. Bhandarkar have smashed all the arguments in favour of this view and have given a number of proofs which establish his age as the VII century B. C. If Āpastamba was anterior to Pāṇini, his date must be still earlier than that above suggested by me. Baudhāyana, a Sūtrakāra of

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[1] Sacred Text Books of the East. II, p. xxxvii-xliii.

[2] Pargiter, op. cit. list on page 330.

[3] S. T. B. op. cit p. xlii.

the same Vedic school (śākhā) as Āpastamba, was probably about two centuries his senior. Both these Sūtrakāras belonged to the Taittirīya Śākhā of the Black (Kṛṣṇa) Yajur Veda. This śākhā is prevalent chiefly South of the Vindhyas. Its followers in North India are but descendants of South Indian Brāhmaṇas who migrated North within the last thousand years. The Taittirīya Śākhā must have been a South Indian sākhā, from the time it became a separate śākhā, i.e. since the time of Vaiśampāyana, disciple of Vyāsa, i.e. from about the age of the Bhārata battle; for we cannot imagine that all the followers of a śākhā migrated from the North to the South without leaving a trace behind[4]. There is no allusion to such a catastrophic event in the Puranic or other tradition. Hence there was enough intercourse between South India and North India for the Kṛṣṇa Yajur Veda to become the Śākhā of the Dākṣiṇātya Brāhmaṇas in the XIV and XIII centuries B.C. And Baudhāyana being an early legislator of this school, I am inclined to place him about 900 B. C. This date might seem absurdly high for Barādhāyana, but if we remember that from before Rāma's time there were Āryas on the banks of the Godāvarī, that his pacification of South India must have led to the further spread of Āryas there, that in the time of Veda Vyāsa and Vaiśampāyana the students of the (Kṛṣṇa) Yajur Veda were confined to the districts about that river, and that Baudhāyana was the earliest sūtrakāra of that śākhā, and again if we admit

[4] The Tittiris were among the Southerners who fought on the side of the Pāṇḍavas. I believe their Śākhā was called Taittirīya and the legend about Vaiśampāyana's swallowing Yājñavalkya's spittle, a later invention to account for the bird-name of the Śākhā.

that Pāṇini lived in the VII century B.C., that Āpastamba was either his contemporary or lived some time before him and that Baudhāyana must have preceded Āpastamba by at least two centuries, I cannot see how my conclusion about his date can be assailed. But though Buadhāyana belonged to these early times, the Sūtras that go by his name cannot be given this early date. These Sūtras, unlike those of Āpastamba, seem to have undergone much additions and amendments at the hands of his remote followers ; for some of the rites prescribed in them are so elaborate as to raise the suspicion that they belong to a late date and the mention of the planets in the order of the week days over which they preside, shows that the Sūtras were tampered with in later times.

Southern vs. Northern customs of the Aryas:

Baudhāyana, legislating for Southern Brāhmaṇas naturally discusses the customs peculiar to Dākṣiṇātyas and more or less repulsive to the Āryas of Āryāvartta. Five ancient Dasyu customs which the South Indians clung to, after they had adopted the Ārya cult and become subject to Ārya laws, have been noted by Baudhāyana. "They are, eating in the company of an uninitiated person, eating in the company of women, eating stale food, indulgence in love-passages by a man and the daughter of his maternal uncle or of his father's sister. ... For each (of these customs) the (rule of the) country should be considered the authority." [5] Baudhā-

[5] Yathetad anupetena saha bhojanam, striyā saha bhojanam, paryuṣita bhojanam, mātula pitṛsvasṛduhitṛ gamanam, iti ... tatra deśaprāmāṇyam evasyāt. Baudh. Dh. Sūt. i. 1.2.3 and 6.

yana knew that Gautama, a northern law-giver, did not acknowledge the authority of local custom [6]; this shows that Baudhāyana would abolish these customs if he could, but he was powerless to induce the Āryas south of the Narmadā to give up their old customs. Old customs die hard or rather they do not die at all but persist for many millenniums, either as they are or slightly disguised. Buhler, in his translation of Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtras (Sacred Text Books of the East vol. XIV) inaccurately renders mātula pitṛsvasṛ duhitṛ gamanam, as marriage between cousins. Such marriages were the norm in South India. It is to-day practically compulsory among the Telugu Brāhmaṇas[7] and fairly common among other South Indian Brāhmaṇas. As marriage between cousins was the norm, if, when such marriage has not taken place, the cousins make up for lost opportunities, it is not considered as exhibiting such a terrible degree of moral turpitude as it would be in other cases. Ordinarily risky jokes can be exchanged by cousins, even when they are not married to each other, without much social opprobrium. Another result of the custom of marriage between cousins is that the same Tamil word attān does duty for the son of the sister of the father and a brother-in-law, i.e. wife's brother or elder sister's husband. Paryuṣita bhojanam is the eating of paḻaiyadu, cooked rice kept overnight

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[6] mithyaitaditi Gautamaḥ i. 1.2.7.

[7] Among Telugu non-Brāhmaṇas, it is common for a man to marry his sister's daughter, a custom not quite unknown among Brāhmaṇas of the South. So that in the dialect of Telugu spoken by the non-Brāhmaṇas, the word 'kōḍalu' means either niece or wife.

soaked in water, a healthy custom, especially if the rice is of the boiled variety where the proteid and vitamin contents are not ground out of the rice. This custom is regarded with loathing by the Northern Āryas as a very unholy one but the Tamils stuck to it notwithstanding Aryan opposition; but what the legislator could not effect, modern civilization is doing, i e. to substitute the stimulant, coffee, and hot, freshly made rice-cakes, for paryuṣita annam.

Meat Eating of Early Brāhmaṇas :

South Indian Brāhmaṇas of this period like those of North India were meat-eaters. Baudhāyana says that while animals, carnivorous and tame birds and tame cocks and pigs should not be eaten, goats and sheep, five five-toed animals (pañcapañca nakhāḥ) the porcupine, the iguana, the hare, the hedgehog, the tortoise, five animals with cloven hoofs (dvikhuriṇah) the nīlgāi, the common deer, tho spotted deer, the buffalo, and the wild boar, the five kinds of birds that feed scratching with their feet, the partridge, the blue rock pigeon, the kapiñca, the vārdhrāṇasa, and the peacock, the fishes, sahasradhamṣṭrī, cilicima, varmi, bṛhacciras, maśakari, rohita and the rāji, may be eaten. The rhinoceros and the black antelope are added to this long list under protest.[8] Āpastamba gives a list of animals that may not be eaten, but his teachings, in the matter of meat-eating, are practically the same as Baudhāyana's, while he has a special sūtra in which he says that the meat of milch cows and oxen may be eaten[9] and as he has thought fit to add that the

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[8] Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtras 1.5.12.1-8.

[9] Apastamba Dharma Sutras 1.5.17.30.

Vājasaneyaka[10] declares 'bull's flesh is fit for offering,' we can infer that the sentiment against the eating of beef was already declaring itself in the south. Śrāddhas, according to Āpastamba, ought to be performed in the latter half of every month to gladden the manes, and secure different kinds of rewards to the performer and the period for which they are satisfied depends on the kind of meat offered. Thus beef satisfies them for a year, buffalo's meat for a longer time, rhinoceros' meat for a still longer time, also that of the fish called śatabali, the crane called vārdhrāṇasa[11]. When and why South Indian Brāhmaṇas gave up meat-eating is an interesting problem. The Tamil poet, Kapilar, who, I believe, lived in the V century A. D. says "my hands have become soft, because they do know of no harder work than eating rice and meat boiled with tamarind (in a fire, on which flowers were strewn, so that) the sweet smell of its smoke might counteract the smell of the pieces of meat"[12]. In another place he speaks of himself as desiring as reward for his poems "the opening of the liquor jar, the slaying of rams and the cooking of rice and curry"[13]. In the V and VI centuries A.D. flowed

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[10] Yājnavalkya says in Sat. Brāh iii. 1.2.21. 'I for one eat it (*i e.* the flesh of the cow and the ox), provided it is tender.'

[11] Op. cit. ii. 7. 16. 4, 7, 26-28; also Ib. 17. 1-3.

[12] புலவுநாற்றத்த பைந்தடி
பூநாற் றத்த புகைகொளீஇ யூன்றுவை
கறிசோ றுண்டு வருந்துதொழி லல்லது
பிறிதுதொழி லறியான வாகலி னன்று
மெல்லிய. Puṛam. 14. ll. 12-16.

[13] மட்டுவாய் திறப்பவு மைவிடை வீழ்ப்பவு
மட்டான் றானக் கொழுந்துவை யூன்சோறும்
பெட்டாங்கு. Puṛam. 113. ll. 1-3.

into the Tamil land a great wave of Bhakti to Viṣṇu and to Śiva. These cults had to fight against that of the Jainas: the Jaina ascetic teachers were the first teachers to insist on their lay disciples (śrāvakas) giving up meat-eating. The Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva cults could not make much headway against the cult of the Jainas, if they did not give up the eating of flesh. Hence they adopted abstention from meat and liquor as one of their fundamental principles This, I guess, was the reason why Brāhmaṇas who were the first teachers of the Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva Āgamas in South India became strict vegetarians.

Varṇas:

The laws of the South Indian sūtrakāras were chiefly meant for Brāhmaṇas who in this age were but very few in the Tamil country, but were abundant in the head of the Gōdavarī valley. Though the sūtras speak of four castes and innumerable cross-castes, it is only as a matter of theory for they concern themselves in their laws very much more with Brāhmaṇas than with others. Cāturvarṇya, the four-caste organization of the Āryas was a fact only in Āryāvartta in the Vedic Age. After the Māhabhārata war, 'confusion of castes,' varṇasaṅkara, prevailed in North India, as Arjuna anticipated.[14] In South India cāturvarṇya was always a matter of theory and was never a reality. For the life of the Brāhmaṇas till about the V century A. D. was totally apart from that of the bulk of the Tamil people. Long before the spread of Aryan institutions in the Tamil country, the people were divided into five tribes, according to the five kinds of life they led in the Stone Age, the nomad, the

[14] Bhag. Gītā I. 41—43.

hunter, the fisherman, the herdsman and the farmer, as the result of the life conditions respectively of the desert, the hill, the sea-coast, the forest and the riverine regions. These five tribes developed customs of their own and a culture of their own, different in many respects from the Ārya ones; and the Aryan institutions could not at all affect the course of Tamil life. Hence the broad stream of the indigenous Tamil culture and the thin stream of imported Ārya culture flowed, like the waters of the Jumnā and the Gaṅgā for many miles down from Prayāga, without mingling their waters. The earliest specimens of Tamil poetry that we now have shown that for many centuries the Tamil Brāhmaṇas lived apart from the main current of Tamil national life and did not influence the course of Tamil poetry.

Pāṇini and South India:

The Tamil kings had little or nothing to do with the kaleidoscopic changes of dynasties in Kuru-Pāñcāla, Magadha, Avanti and other northern countries from the end of the Mahābhārata War down to the establishment of the dynasty of the Nandas. Hence the Northern authors of Sanskrit books in the first half of the first millennium, such as Pāṇini, have not referred to the southerners at all. Pāṇini, who, as I think, flourished in about the VII century B.C., makes no mention of any province to the South of the Narmadā except that of Aśmaka. From this D. R. Bhandarkar infers that the names of Southern countries were not known to Pāṇini. He says, "no sane scholar who has studied the Aṣṭādhyāyi will be so bold as to assert that Pāṇini was a careless or ignorant grammarian. But we have not one word, but at least three words, viz., Pāṇḍya, Coḷa, and Keraḷa, the formation of whose forms has not

been explained by Pāṇini, which any accurate and thorough-going grammarian would have done if they had been known to him. The only legitimate conclusion that can, therefore, be drawn is that the names of these southern countries, were not known to Pāṇini, or in other words, were not known to the Aryans in the VII century B.C."[15]. I am sorry I cannot appreciate the cogency of this reasoning. Pāṇini might well have known those words but might not have regarded them as Sanskrit words (they are really Tami words). It so happens that he discusses many names of places and rivers near the districts he was personally acquainted with, in what we now call the Panjab and Afghanistan and a few more to South. To take his Aṣṭādhyāyī on this account as a complete geography of the parts of India known to him is not right and to say that he did not know the names of the countries he does not mention in his grammar, and to go further and maintain that the Aryans of his time did not know them is to push the argument from silence to the most absurd lengths[16]. Baudhāyana and Āpastamba one of whom

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[15] Carm. Lec. 1918, pp. 4-7.

[16] Speaking of the argument from silence Pargiter remarks "one might argue with more force that, because the banyan, the most characteristic tree of India, is not mentioned in the Ṛg Veda, there were none in India when the hymns were composed", op. cit. p. 125, and again, "its silence about the Vindhya Mountains and other geographical features prove no ignorance, when one considers its silence about the banyan, about salt, and about the Pāriyātra hills (the Aravalli range), which the Aryans had actually reached according to the current view." Ib. p. 299.

perhaps was Pāṇini's contemporary and the other probably flourished before his time, lived and legislated in the South of India and they certainly were Aryans. Moreover if Pāṇini had been ideally encyclopaedic in completeness, there was no necessity for Kātyāyana and Patañjali to supplement his grammatical teachings in their Vārttika and Mahābhāṣya respectively.

The Jātaka Tales and South India:

The Jātaka, which is a collection of tales of the numerous births of the Bodhisatta, who later became Gotama the Buddha, is a record of the folk-tales current among the North Indians in the V and preceeding centuries adapted to the needs of the heretical Bauddha cult; these tales were written down about the IV century B.C, but they must have existed as folk-tales long before the time of the Buddha. Some of these tales show that the intercourse between North and South India was as intimate as in previous and later times. The Tales speaks of voyages of merchants to Tambapaṇṇi dīpa (Ceylon) where Yakkiṇīs (she-goblins, *i.e.*, aborigines, believed to be cannibals) lived, in Sirisavattu nagara; when the ships of merchants were wrecked near the place, the Yakkhiṇīs gave them food and drink, married them and finally ate them up. These Yakkhiṇīs scoured the coast from the river Kalyāṇī to Nāgadīpa for victims.[17] Notwithstanding the fact that the island was infested with Yakkhiṇīs (a reminiscence of the old Rāmāyaṇa tales about the inhabitants of Ceylon) a party of men travelled to Ceylon and there became Sanyāsīs[18].

[17] Valāhassa Jātaka No. 196. Nāgadīpa is used for the coasts of Ceylon and Malabar.

[18] Hattipāla Jātaka, No. 509, Mūgapakka Jātaka No. 538.

The Buddha himself when he was born as a little Bowman, learnt the Vedas and completed his education at Takkhasilā and went to the Andhra country for practical experience.[19] We are here not concerned with his experiences there. In another of his births he was a dealer of pots and pans in the kingdom of Sēri and was called 'the Sērivan'. Probably this Sēri was the Śēra country. In his travels as a hawker, he crossed the river Telavāha and reached Andhapura. The Andha, i.e. Andhra country, is not far from the Sēra country.[20] In yet another incarnation of the Bodhisatta, he was born as Akitti, the son of a Brāhmaṇa mahāsāla (Brāhmana magnate) He turned ascetic, and along with his sister, Yasavatī, departed to a place three leagues from Benares; but, to escape from the benefactions of his admirers, he left the place by himself and repaired to the kingdom of Damiḷa, where he dwelt in a garden (uyyāna) near Kāverapattana. It may be noted in passing that from this it may be inferred that Kāvīrippaṭṭinam was one of the Śōḷa capitals (though the Śōḷas are not named in the tale) when this folk-tale was current, that in the Northern dialect its name had changed to Kāverapattana and probably the tale of Kavera Ṛsi being the father of the Goddess of the river was also current. Here, too, Akitti was pestered by admirers and he went away to Kāradīpa, also called Ahidīpa, perhaps the same as the Nāgadīpa, near the island of Tambapaṇṇi (Ceylon), and therefore the Malabar coast, which was the land of the Nāgas, as I have suggested earlier. There Akitti, the Bodhisatta,

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19 Bhīmasena Jātaka, No. 80.

20 Sērivāṇya Jātaka No. 3.

reached omniscience. Akitti has for no earthly reason been identified with Agastya by some.

Sīhabāhu :

These references to South India in the Jātaka prove that South India was not cut off from North India in the middle of the first millennium B. C. and that intercourse other than political between the two parts of India was as active as ever. On the day that the Buddha died or, in Bauddha phraseology, the Lord of the world lay on the bed of parinibbāna [21] Vijaya, son of Sīhabāhu the lion-armed together with seven hundred followers landed in Ceylon from the country of Lāḷa (Rāḍha, Eastern Bengal), having been banished from that country by his father for evil conduct. He had been set adrift on a ship and, the geography of his travels being as usual shaky, he landed at Supparaka (now Sopara, north of Bombay)[22]; thence he re-embarked and landed at Tambapaṇṇi, in North Ceylon. He became king of the country after defeating and slaying the Yakka (yakṣa) people who lived there; and, requiring wives for himself and his followers, he sent people to the city of Madura in the Dakkiṇa (South India) with gifts to woo the daughter of the Paṇḍu king[23] and also to secure wives for the rest; a number

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[21] parinibbānamañcamhi nipanno lokanāyako. Mahāvamso, vii. 1.

[22] This is perhaps a mistake for Sopatma, mentioned as an Eastern sea port by the Periplus, a few centuries later. It is not likely that a ship from the Bengal coast, bound for Ceylon, went to Sopara.

[23] The king of Madura is called Paṇḍava. The Pāli writer identified the word Pāṇḍya with the familiar Pāṇḍava, just as Patañjali derived Pāṇḍya from the word Pāṇḍu.

of Tamil girls bedecked with ornaments and, accompanied by elephants, horses and waggons, went to Ceylon. This story gives testimony to the continuance of the ancient intercourse between North and South India. Incidentally it confirms the fact that the Pāṇḍyas and the Northerners were not strangers to each other, but so familiar with each other that a Pāṇḍya girl could be demanded for the hand of Vijaya, as a normal event, as was Arjuna's marriage with Citrāṅgadā, and as Arjuua contracted a temporary alliance with the Nāga girl Ulūpī, so Vijaya too had made a terminable marriage with Kuvaṇṇā, a Yakkhiṇī. This was a passing adventure with a strange girl; not so the marriage with the Pāṇḍya princess; for as the story says, Vijaya with solemn ceremony consecrated Pāṇḍu's daughter as his queen [24].

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[24] Tato so Vijayo rāja paṇḍurājassa duhitaram | mahatā parihāreṇa mahēsittēbhisēcayi ‖ Mahāvamso, vii. 72.

CHAPTER X

FOREIGN TRADE: 1000—500 B. C.

Palestine and India:

In the X century B. C. the Queen of Sheba gave King Solomon "of spices very great store and precious stones; there came no more such abundance of spices as these which the queen of Sheba gave to King Solomon."[1] In those days India was the land whence these articles went west and we may be sure that the spices and the stones went in Indian boats to the African coast before they reached the Queen's hands. "And the navy also of Hiram that brought gold from Ophir brought in from Ophir great plenty of almug trees and precious stones. And the King made of the almug trees pillars for the house of the Lord, and for the King's house, harps also and psalteries for singers; there came no such almug trees, nor were seen unto this day."[2] These almug trees have been identified with sandal-wood, and the word, derived from Sanskrit valgu. This sandal-wood, native to South India, especially Mysore, Coimbatore and Salem districts, must have been taken to the Gujarat ports and thence transported to Syria via Arabia. Whether the gold taken from Ophir was wholly or partially Indian gold depends on the much disputed identification of Ophir. But since Solomon possessed an immense quantity of gold,[3] part of his

[1] I Kings, x. 10.

[2] Ib. x. 11-12.

[3] Ib. x. 14-17 and 21.

store might have been obtained from India. We learn further "For the King had at sea a navy of Tharshish with the navy of Hiram; once in three years came the navy of Tharshish, bringing gold and silver, ivory and apes and peacocks."[4] With the ivory "the king made a great throne of ivory and overlaid it with the best gold."[5] It is probable that some of the ivory was contributed by India, for the Hebrew word for ivory, shen habbin, is a translation of Sanskrit ibha danta, elephant's tooth, Hebrew habbin, as well as Egyptian ebu, being both derived from sanskrit ibha.[6] The apes and peacocks were, as in later times, sent as pets from India. Hebrew koph is Sanskrit kapi, ape, also borrowed by the Egyptians as kafu; and Hebrew thukki, peacock, is Tamil tōgai, tail, the peacock being the bird with the splendid tail. Other articles received by the Hebrews along with their names form India were sadin, cotton-cloth, from Dravidan sindu (already referred to); karpas, cotton, from Sanskrit karpāsa and lastly ahal from Tamil ahil, Sanskrit agaru, Greek agallochum, rendered variously in English as eagle-wood, aloes-wood[7] or lign-aloes. Ebony was another Indian article which reached Palestine. Says Schoff, "the earliest definite Old Testament reference is in Ezekiel xxvii. 13, where it appears as a commodity in the trade of Tyre: 'the men of Dedan were thy merchants: many isles were the merchandise of thine hand; they brought thee for a present horns of

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4 Ib. x. 22.

5 Ib. x. 18.

6 From ebu came Greek el-ephas (as some hold), el- being the Arabic particle prefixed.

7 "All thy garments of myrrah and aloes and cassia." Psalms, xlv. 8.

ivory and ebony.' If the Oxford editor's identification of Dedan with the south shore of the Persian Gulf be correct, this passage indicates a steady trade in ebony from India prior to the VII century B.C., and exactly confirms the statement of the Periplus that it was shipped from Barygaza to Ommana and Apologus,"[8] and also proves the soundness of arguing from the records of later times that the trade mentioned existed in earlier times.

India and Assyria :

On the Obelisk of Shalmeneser III (860 B. C.) are figures of apes and Indian elephants. "The Nimrud Inscription of the great Assyrian monarch Tiglath Pileser III tells how 'fear of the briliance of Ashur, my lord, overcame Merodach-baladan, of Yakin, King of the sea-country' and how he came and made submission, bringing as tribute 'gold—the dust of his land—in abundance, vessels of gold, necklaces of gold, precious stones, the product of the sea (pearls ?), beams of rushu-wood, ellutu-wood, party-coloured clothing, spices of all kinds'," almost all being Indian exports of the day. He also made the Persian Gulf ports centres also for the gold produced farther to the East in Persia, Carmania and the Himalayas[9].

In the markets of Tyrus, "situate at the entry of the sea,"[10] were bright iron, cassia and calmus.[11] The bright iron was Indian steel which was imported in

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[8] Schoff's Periplus p. 153.

[9] Ib. p. 160.

[10] Ezekiel, xvii. 19.

[11] In later times was composed 'a Special Greek treatise on the tempering of Indian Steel.' Warmington op. cit., p. 258.

various countries in ancient times for making swords; cassia was the ancient name for the bark of the cinnamon; calamus was a kind of aromatic grass. These articles went from India to Tyrus, as well as the spices, precious stones and gold taken to it by the merchants of Sheba[12].

Sennacherib (704-681 B.C.) enlarged the city of Nineveh, built therein a palace for himself and planted a great park where among other trees he introduced "trees bearing wool" (an expression used more than 250 years later by Herodotous[13] to describe the cotton plant), imported from India.[14]

Warmington remarks that "the Indians of old transported living animals by sea to the Persian Gulf and to Africa and China.[15] He says also that "it was natural that the Indian humped cattle used for draught, burden and riding should spread westwards by land so as to form part of the domestic cattle of Persia, Syria, and Africa. Thus we find representations of it in Assyrian and later art."[16] We may also believe that among animal products sent westwards by the Indians were "fine skins of lions, tigers and leopards".[17] In later times ghi (and gingelly oil) were sent to East Africa, where, as little oil was produced, it was naturally in demand. This was true of the I century A. D.[18] and may well have been true of earlier ages.

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[12] Ezekiel, xxvii. 22.

[13] iii. 106.

[14] J.R.A.S. 1910, p. 403 (Pinches).

[15] Op. cit., pp. 147.

[16] Op. cit., 149—150.

[17] Op. cit., p. 159.

[18] Periplus. 41.

Other articles:

Aromatics and spices were the most valuable plant products sent by India. As Warmington says the carriage of aromatics and spices by the Arabians across their peninsula lasted for ages. Pepper was an important article of trade in Phoenician ships of old. Cinnamon was taken from very ancient times in Indian ships straight to the Somali coast and was thence passed on to Arabia and to Egypt and to Syria.[19]

It is well-known that there was a long-standing trade in Indigo and probably other dyes between India and ancient Egypt.[20] We have records of numerous other Indian articles, which the Romans, after the beginning of the Christian era, got either direct from Indian ports or through the Arabians and the Egyptians as intermediaries. The traffic in those articles must have existed from earlier times, but we have no contemporary evidence of it. The Indian trade in this early period was with Arabia and East Africa, and it was conducted by means of barter; the Indians got in exchange for their goods, gold, frankincense, myrrh and other gum-resins. Indian wares were taken to the African marts of the Somali, to Socotra island, but above all to Arabia Eudæmon, (Aden), a prosperous and wealthy meeting place of Arabians and Indians, and in later times, the Greeks also. As Warmington remarks the Arab-African peoples of the marts of the Somali, carried on a traffic of very long-standing with the Indians of Cambay in Indian, Arabian and African shipping centred at the Cape of Spices (Cape Guardafui) [21].

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[19] Warmington op. cit, p. 180, 187.

[20] Ib. p. 204.

[21] Warmington op cit., p. 13.

During this period we may well suppose that the trade of the Coromandel and Malabar coasts with China did not languish, for cardamom and other articles of China continued to find their way to Western Asia and East Africa in Indian ships.

CHAPTER XI

NORTH AND SOUTH INDIA : 500 B. C.—1 B. C.

Kātyāyana and Patañjali :

A few centuries after Pāṇini, perhaps in the IV century B. C. lived Kātyāyana, who found that Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī was defective and wrote Vārttikas to supplement the rules of Pāṇini. According to a note furnished to me by Mr, P. S. Subrahmaṇya Śāstrī, Assistant Editor of the Tamil Lexicon, Kātyāyana was a Southerner. The note is as follows ;—" The fact that Vararuci, (the personal name of Kātyāyana), the author of Vārttikas on Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī, was a Southerner, is evident from the statement, 'priyataddhita dākṣiṇā tyāḥ,' 'the Southerners are fond of taddhita forms,' of Patañjali, the Vyākarāṇa bhāṣyakāra, when he elucidates the first Vārttika, siddhē śabdārtha sambandhē lokato rthaprayukte śabdaprayoge śāstreṇa dharma niyamaḥ yathā laukikavaidikeṣu, 'when the word, its meaning and their relation are nitya and word is used in the meaning current in the world, śāstra or grammarical science enjoins the use of correct words for dharma (apūrva) and in dharma (sacrifices)', in the first Āhnika of Mahābhāṣya, wherein he says that instead of using 'lokevedeca ', Vararuci has used 'laukikevaidikeṣu', making use of 'taddhitapratyayas' ". This is enough to prove that a school of Sanskrit grammarians had arisen in South India, had studied the grammar written by Pāṇini in remote Gāndhāra and were qualified to write a teatise for the purpose of supplementing his work.

Being a Southerner Kātyāyana naturally noticed that the Tamil words Pāṇḍya, Śōḷa and Śera(la), which had been naturalized in Sanskrit literature in the forms Pāṇḍya, Coḍa and Keraḷa, had not been dealt with by Pāṇini and proceeded to make rules to explain their formation. Pāṇini had made a rule which says, "the suffix añ (comes in the sense of descendant), after a word, which while denoting a country, (also) denotes a tribe of kṣattriyas"[1] This rule not being comprehensive enough, Kātyāyana appends supplementary rules, the third of which says, "In the case of words which are common to kṣattriya (tribes) and to countries, (to form the word) for its king, (the suffix) indicating a son (should be used)[2] Thus the Rāja of the Pañcālas is Pañcālaḥ. Even this cannot explain the formation of Pāṇḍya. So Kātyāyana adds another rule, pāṇḍor ḍyaṇ vaktavyaḥ, i. e., in the case of the word pāṇḍu, the suffix ḍyaṇ is used and the derived word is Pāṇḍya.[3] To explain Coḍa and other words, Kātyāyana utilizes another rule of Pāṇini. It says 'after the word kamboja, luk, i. e., there is no suffix'.[4] Thus from Kamboja, the name of a country, the title of its king, Kambojaḥ, is derived. Kātyāyana extends this rule by saying, 'luk should be supplied for Kamboja and others, for the purpose of Coḍa and other (words)'.[5] Patañjali says that this Vārttika explains the

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[1] Janapada śabdāt kṣattriyād añ. (Aṣṭādhyāyī IV. i. 168.

[2] Ksattriya samāna sabdāj janapadāttasya rājanyapatyavat.

[3] Keilhorn's Edn. of Patañjali's Vyākaraṇa Mahā bhāṣya, Vol. ii. p. 269.

[4] Kambojāl luk IV. 1. 175.

[5] Kambojādibyo lug vacanam coḍādyartham.

formation of Coḍaḥ, Kaderaḥ, Keralaḥ.[6] Thus Kātyāyana and Patañjali were of opinion that the royal titles Coḍa and Keraḷa were derived from the names of countries but the title Pāṇḍya was derived from Pāṇḍu which was at the same time the name of a country and a kṣattriya tribe. This derivation is not sustainable because the tribe which furnished the Madura country with kings was not called Pāṇḍu but Pāṇḍya in Tamil. But yet D.R. Bhandarkar has built on this derivation an elaborate theory of a Northern Kṣattriya tribe called Pāṇḍu migrating to the South and founding Pāṇḍya kingdoms in South India and Ceylon[7]. Neither Kātyāyana nor Patañjali says that Pāṇḍu was the name of a Northern tribe; it is enough for their purpose to assume the name Pāṇḍu for a ruling tribe and for a country. Since all rulers were regarded as Kṣattriyas Patañjali was not far wrong in making Pāṇḍu (which occurs as Paṇḍu in Pali) the name of a Kṣattriya tribe; but it is certainly wrong to make it on that account the name of a foreign, non-Tamil tribe of invaders. D.R. Bhandarkar presses into service for supporting this theory the absurd legend found in Polyœn. strateg. I. 3. 4 supposed to be quoted from Megasthenes which says, "Herakles begot a daughter in India whom he called Pandaia. To her he assigned that portion of India which lies to southward and extends to the sea, while he distributed the people subject to her rule into 365 villages, giving orders that one village should each day bring to the treasury the royal tribute so that the queen might always have the assistance of those men whose

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[6] Mahābhāṣya, op. cit. p. 270.

[7] Carmichael Lectures, 1918, pp. 9-13.

turn it was to pay the tribute in coercing those who for the time being were defaulters in their payments."[8]. Much ingenuity has been wasted in the attempt to correlate this with what we know of Madura in early times, but without success. It is but another legend proving the credulity of Megasthenes, like his tale of the ant-men already referred to, or again his other tale of girls in the Pandaian land bearing children when they were six years of age.[9] At best the legend can only prove what we know from better sources that there was intercourse between the Pāṇḍya country and Pāṭaliputra in the IV century B. C. and that Megasthenes had heard of that country. Nevertheless D. R. Bhandarkar not only acceps, the legend of Herakles' daughter ruling over Madura, but also joins the horde of scholars who have without any evidence unsuccessfully tried to find by the method of guessing the Indian equivalents of the Greek gods, such as Dionysos and Herakles, whose characteristics were so utterly different, from those of Indian ones. He equates Kṛṣṇa with Herakles, though the persuasive music of Kṛṣṇa's flute is on the opposite pole to the logic of the mighty club of Herakles and, though this equation reduces the legend of Megasthenes to absurdity, he is yet willing to believe that the Pāṇḍus, whose existence in Madhyadeśa is testified to by Varāhamihira of the VI century A. D., invaded the Tamil country, more than two thousand years before Varāhamihira's time and established a line of kings and a tribe of men there! This is speculation with a vengeance.

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[8] McCrindle. Ancient India as described by Megathenes and Arrian p. 159.

[9] McCrindle, op. cit. p. 144.

The Tamil tradition is that the three kings (mūvēndar) as they were always called by the Tamils, *i.e.*, the Śōḻas, the Śēras and the Pāṇḍyas, reigned in the Tamil land from the time of creation, *i.e.*, from time immemorial or rather from the time when Tamil bards began to sing of the Tamil kings. In much later times Brāhmaṇas induced these kings to claim descent from the Sun and the Moon who originated the various dynasties of Aryan kings, but even then they were not regarded as alien but as Tamil kings. As a matter of fact, Śōḻa, Śēra and Pāṇḍya are Tamil tribal names. The Śōḻas were an agricultural tribe (vellāḷar) who lived in the valley of Kāviri and had the ātti (Bauhinea Racemosa), the characteristic flower of that region, as their emblem. The Śēras were Kuṟavar, [10] i. e. men of the hill region extending from the upper reaches of the tributaries of the Kāviri to the West Coast of South India, of which region the palmyra is the characteristic tree and they had the palmyra (leaf and flower) as their emblem. The Pāṇḍyas were the coast people (paradavar) [11] inhabiting the southernmost region of India, where the margosa is the characteristic tree and fishing is the chief occupation; the carp and the margosa were their emblems. The characteristics and occupations of these tribes were the direct result of the action of their environment on their evolution. Hence all speculations deriving them from regions outside their natural environment are examples of vicious reasoning.

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[10] The Kuṟavar of modern times are perhaps degraded descendants of the ancient Kuṟavar.

[11] Paradavar in ancient literature meant both boatmen and chiefs in the Madura country, e. g. தென்பரதவர் மிடல் சாய. Puṟam 378. l. 1. தென்பரதவர் போரேறே. Maduraikkāñji l. 144.

The Empire of Magadha:

In about 400 B. C. Mahāpadma Nanda became the ruler of Magadha. He exterminated all the Kṣattriyas and after his time kings of Śūdra origin prevailed in the land. He became the sole monarch of India and the possessor of the single umbrella of empire [12] Thence the rulers of Magadha claimed the lordship of the whole of India, except perhaps the Tamil districts, the people of which had not yet been subjugated by Ārya culture. This lordship was acknowledged till the death of Āśoka, for we hear of no invasions of the Dakshiṇāpatha to enforce the claim. Kaliṅga, among other provinces, was under the Magadha rule, for a canal was dug there by the Nandas; so that Aśoka's war in the Kaliṅga country must have been due to a rebellion. Copies of Aśoka's edicts have been found, among other places, at Siddapura, Jatiṅga-Rāmeśwara and Brahmagiri in the Mysore territory and at Maski in the Nizam's Dominions and very recently in the Kurnool district. This shows that the chief vernacular dialect of North India was understood by the South Indians [13] except those of the Tamil country in the III century B. C.; the edicts were not intended for scholars alone; if so, they would have been composed in

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[12] Sarva kṣattrāntako nṛpaḥ tatah prabhṛti rājāno bhaviṣyah śudra yonayah ekarāṭ sa mahāpadma ekacchatraḥ. Pargiter. Dynasties of the Kali Age p. 25.

[13] To-day Hindustāni, or Hindī or Urdu, for they are all one essentially, is understood north of 12° N. latitude This is due not, as is usually believed, so much to the domination of Muhamadan Sultans in recent times but to the age-long intercourse, commercial, religious and literary, between North and South.

Sanskrit. On the other hand, they were intended to reach the masses. Hence we infer that down to the Peṇṇār valley the chief spoken dialect of North India was understood by the common people in those days; as for the script, the same script, now called the Aśokan, was used throughout India in the III century B. C. This shows that great was the intercourse between North and South India in ancient times and it was made still greater by the fact that Mahāpadma Nanda became ekarāṭ and this domination by Magadha continued in the times of the Maurya emperors.

Trade with Magadha :

In the IV century B. C., the trade between North and South India assumed greater proportions than ever. I have already referred to Kauṭilya's testimony to this. I shall here quote the passage in full. "Of routes by land, that to the Himalayas is superior to that to Dakṣiṇāpatha, says the teacher; for (from the former come) elephants, horses, aromatic materials, ivory, hides, silver and gold articles, most excellent. Not so, says Kauṭilya, excepting woollen cloth, hides and horses, conchshells, diamonds, sapphire (and other gems) and articles of gold (come) in large quantities from Dakṣiṇāpatha. In Dakṣiṇāpatha, the trade-routes (which go along) many mines, (also places where) excellent articles (are obtained) and which are frequented by many people or are easy to travel on, are superior (to others)"[14]. This gives us a

[14] Sthala pathe pi haimavato dakṣiṇā pathāechreyān | hastyaśva gandha dantājina rūpya svarṇapaṇyāḥ sāravattarāḥ ityācāryaḥ | neti kauṭilyaḥ kambalājināśvapaṇya varjāḥ śaṅkha vajramanimuktāḥ

picture of a great volume of trade, carried in caravans of creaking country carts (just as we see to-day, where the railway train and the motor lorry have not killed out the ancient method of transit) passing along roads, good and bad, from Cape Comorin to Pāṭaliputra. In another place, where Kauṭilya refers to things that find their way to the royal treasury, he mentions precious stones (ratna) from Tāmraparnī and Pāṇḍyakavāṭa and Cūrna[15] (which latter is explained by a commentator as a river near Muraci i.e. Muśiri in the Keraḷa country), vaiḍūrya[16] of various colours (which a commentator says were from Strīrājya, i. e. Malabar), as well as Pauṇḍraka blankets, black and soft as the surface of a gem (which Śyāma Sāstrī, translator of the Artha-śāstra says were of Pāṇḍya manufacture)[17] and excellent cotton cloth from Madura.[18]

Candragupta and South India :

After a splendid reign of a quarter of a century—the most splendid that the world knew in the last quarter of the IV century B.C., Candragupta, like many other Indian monarchs, was possessed by a sudden access of vairāgya and in one night gave up sword and sceptre and became a Jaina ascetic and one of the 12,000 disciples of Bhadrabāhu. He trudged on foot

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suvarṇapaṇyāśca prabhūtatarā dakṣiṇāpathe | dakṣiṇāpathe pi bāhukhaniḥ sārapaṇyah praśiddha gatir alpavyāyāmo vā vaṇikpathaḥ śreyān. Artha Śāstra, Jolly and Schmidt vii. 12. 30-34.

[15] Arthaśāstra op. cit. ii 26. 2.

[16] Ib ii. 26. 30.

[17] Ib. translation p. 90.

[18] Ib. Jolly and Schmidt ii. 26. 119.

along with his master and fellow-disciples to Śravana Beḷgoḷa, in what is now the Hassan District of the Mysore Province. There Bhadrabāhu and Candragupta stayed, the others going to the Pāṇḍya and Śōḻa countries. Then the Emperor who had turned beggar ministered to his guru's wants, till the latter died; Candragupta survived his master for twelve years, begging his daily food, till, like a true Jaina, when he knew the purpose of his life was achieved and his body was of no more use to him, he starved himself to death, practising the Jaina rite of Sallekhana. We are not here concerned with the great Emperor's life and death, but with the fact that so many thousands of Sādhus, as we should call them now, transported themselves from North to South, as a matter of course, just as pilgrims do daily to-day. These Jaina ascetics resided in natural caves in the hills of the Tamil districts and left inscriptions behind them, the deciphering of which has thrown some light on Tamil literary history.

Bauddha migrants:

Like the Jainas, Bauddhas also wandered to South India in search of lonely haunts where they could practise yoga undisturbed and they, too, took to living in natural caves and have left inscriptions. In several cases it is a little difficult to decide whether a particular cave was used by Jainas or by Bauddhas. Such caves have been discovered in various hills of the Pāṇḍya and the Śēra countries. These early migrations of monks were not due to political causes or propagandist enthusiasm. Like the Ṛṣis of an earlier age, the Bhikkhus of the V and IV century B. C left their native province only to escape from the semi-condescending patronage of royal

personages or the uncomfortable adulation of admiring lay disciples who desired to acquire cheap merit and lay by a store of puṇya by lavishly entertaining saintly sanyāsīs. The Jaina and the Bauddha had to undergo systematic mental training by the method of yoga, which required solitude for its successful practice. And the Jainas required, besides, shelters far from the haunts of men, where they could die in peace in the peculiar manner called Sallekhana. These monks of early times had no burning desire "to save souls." Mahāvīra and Buddha did not found religions which would translate men in bulk to heaven, but taught sanyāsīs methods of psychological training which would save the individual from the wheel of compulsory birth and re-birth. These prophets did not appeal to the worldly but to the ascetic; they founded not churches but monasteries. They stimulated the hearts of their disciples by inspired utterances and not filled their mind with dogmas. It was only when the moving waves of inspiration had passed on and been succeeded by the standing pool of reflection, when the desire for the salvation of oneself by following the hard path of self-discipline had been supplanted by the desire to save the souls of others by teaching them dogmas and catchwords, when the warm, palpitating soul had been imprisoned in the cold steel chain of logic, when, as the Bauddha would say, the heart doctrine had been obscured by the eye-doctrine, when, as the Sāṅkhya would say, the Adhyavasāya of Buddhi had been obscured by the Saṅkalpavikalpa of Manas, that the teachings of the Jina and the Buddha became degenerated into Jainism and Buddhism, two more sects which the self-regarding instincts of men have manufactured to the detriment

of the people of India. Then the councils of the Bauddhas were held and eager Bauddha missionaries began to beat the country, filled with the desire to save other people's souls and stimulate hatred in the name of religion. Unlike the Bhikkhus of the previous generations these militant missionaries utilized the political influence of Magadha for their propagandist purposes.

Aśoka and Tamil India :

But the Tamil country continued to be outside the domination of Magadha even in the time of Aśokavardhana. He describes the Coḍa, Pāṇḍiya, Satiyaputo and Kelalaputo as anta i. e. neighbours or borderers, when he speaks in his rock Edict II of his establishing among them two kinds of the treatment of disease, viz., the treatment of men and the treatment of cattle. In the rock Edict XIII he says he has won Dharmavijaya in the South (nīca), in Coḍa, Paṇḍiya, as far as Tambapaṇṇi (i. e. the Tāmraparṇī river). The Dharmavijaya consisted in sending ambassadors to preach the eclectic ethics, the composite Dharma, compounded of the teachings of Brāhmaṇa, Jaina and Bauddha teachers, which he delighted in preaching to the world. This has been mistaken by most investigators, ancient and modern, as sending Bauddha missionaries to various countries. For one thing, Aśoka never called his teachings, to all and sundry, Bauddha Satyāni, but always called them by the non-committal word Dharma. Secondly, if he wanted to advertise to the world his sending of Bauddha missionaries, he would have mentioned that he sent his son by Dēvī, whom he married when he was Viceroy at Ujjain, namely, Mahinda, as missionary to Ceylon, whereas it is the Mahāvamśo that gives us this information. It

was the third council that sent Bauddha missionaries to several places whereas Aśoka sent Dhūtas to effect his Dharmavijaya. No doubt, Aśoka respected Bauddha monks as well as Jaina monks and Brāhmaṇa householders and Sanyāsīs ; this does not mean that he sent Bauddha missionaries anywhere. Mahāvamśo, the Bauddha chronicle, is but a prejudiced witness in this matter. But we are not concerned here with this question. It is enough here if we infer from Aśoka's inscriptions that South India continued to have as active intercourse with North India in Aśoka's days as in those of his predecessors.

Modern investigators frequently speak of the great Maurya Empire and in later times of the imperial sway of the Guptas. These words 'Empire' and 'Imperial' convey quite a false idea of the political relations of Indian states to each other in ancient days. The connotation of the word Empire is such that it cannot be used in Indian history without giving a misleading view of the course of that history. The Roman empire meant the establishment of the Pax Romana, the gradual extension of Roman citizenship, the institution of Roman jurisprudence and the spread of the Latin tongue. The British empire means the establishment of British methods of the maintenance of law and order, the use of the English language for purposes of administration, the spread of English schools and universities, the wide extension of British commerce, the starting of Christian propaganda and the slow development of British democratic institutions. The establishment of empire in ancient India meant none of these things. The traditional 56 Indian states were mostly governed in accordance with the Dharma Śāstra, as expounded by Brāhmaṇa teachers

from time to time; when a powerful monarch proclaimed himself 'the wielder of the discus', 'the holder of the one umbrella', 'the all-ruler', there was absolutely no change of the method of administration or of the hierarchy or personnel of officers, no planting of military colonies, nor even the stationing of the suzerain's armies in the dominions of the vassal king. It merely meant that a certain great person claimed to be the overlord of a number of states and this overlordship was acknowledged by the payment of tribute, yearly or occasional. The formal establishment of suzerainty was generally by means of the celebration of a horse-sacrifice. It was not generally preceded by a war of invasion but by the letting loose of the sacrificial horse in the charge of the son or grandson of the king and by fights for the recovery of the horse in case it strayed into the territory of a monarch who refused to acknowledge the overlordship of the performer of the horse-sacrifice. Thus the so-called imperial sway was due to the personal qualities of an individual king and not a dynastic affair at all. Hence the general statement about Indian empires being short-lived meaningless.

The successors of Aśoka were weaklings, political and moral, and his death was followed by the rise to fame of monarchs of other states than Magadha. One of these was Khāravela of the Kaliṅga country and his inscriptions give us testimony about the trade between Madura and his province.

Kalinga and South India:

By the irony which fate always provides, Aśoka's practice of Dharma led to the break-up of his Empire

soon after his death. Kalinga among other provinces became independent and its king (c. 200 B. C.) Khāravela possessed a reputation which extended to the Pāṇḍya country, for he got from thence presents of shiploads of elephants, besides horses, rubies, pearls and sapphires [19]

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[19] abhuta acariyam hattināvan pāripuram u (pa) deṇha haya hathi ratana (mā) ṇikam paṇḍar ājā edāni anekāni muta maṇiratanāni aharāpayati idha sata (sa). 'Wonderful and surprising, elephant ships were brought laden also with horses, elephants, rubies. The Pāṇḍya rājā sent these, (besides) many pearls and sapphires. Hāthigumpha inscription. J. B. O. R. S. iv. 401.

CHAPTER XII

EARLIEST TAMIL POETRY EXTANT.

The beginnings of poetry:

Poetry generally began with the praise of gods and kings. Whenever a cult is established or a dynasty is founded, bards begin to earn the favour of gods and kings by singing about them. Omitting from consideration religious poetry, like that of the Vedas, we may take it that secular poetry in any one language begins when kings speaking that language achieve notable military exploits. Bards have always been semi-starved men, hungering for meat and thirsting for drink, and they have always tried to earn these by glorifying in song the feats of kings and chieftains in love and war. This was exactly the way in which the Tamil muse came to be born.

Possibly the earliest songs were in the unrefined dialects actually spoken; but they have all died just as have perished the early Sanskrit ballads that must have existed for centuries before that language was rendered Samskṛta, (i. e., refined, conventionalized, brought under strict canons of grammar) and the metrical and other literary conventions of the Vedic mantras were born. For the Vedic mantras are not the "babblings of infant humanity" as Max Muller rashly described them to be; but the language of the mantras was "a scholastic dialect of a class", "an artificially archaic dialect handed down from one generation to the other within the class of priestly

singers".[1] In other words the Vedic language was a 'devabhāṣa', not the dialect spoken by common men, by all and sundry from priest to pariah. Similarly the earliest Tamil odes we now have represent a comparatively late stage of literary development. Their language is not the spoken language of the common men but a strictly refined, conventionalized one. These early odes obey strict metrical rules and, what is much more remarkable, exhibit a highly complicated scheme of literary convention.

The Literary dialects:

I have assumed that the three Tamil dynasties rose to power after the pacification of South India by Śrī Rāma. Of the three dynasties, the Pāṇḍya dynasty ruled in what we now call the Madura country. This country is the heart of the Tamil land. Unlike the Śōḻa country which is almost all marudam (agricultural) and the Śēra country which is mostly kuṟiñji (mountainous), the Pāṇḍya country contains all the five habitable regions (tiṇais), where the five kinds of love-poetry, and the five kinds of war-poetry, each correlated to one or other of the tiṇais, could arise. It is no wonder then that Madura was the centre of the growth of Tamil literature and the place where the literary dialect of Tamil (Śendamiḻ) was fashioned. Tamil grammars speak of the twelve Tamil districts near the country of Śendamiḻ, where dialectical forms were used by the people[2]. A well-known Tamil stanza enumerates these twelve districts as South Pāṇḍya, Kuṭṭam,

[1] Macdonell, Sansk. Lit. p. 20.

[2] செந்தமிழ் சேர்ந்த பன்னிரு நிலம்.
Tolkāppiyam, Śolladigāram ix. 3.

Kuḍam, Kaṛkā, Vēṇāḍu, Pūḻi, Panṛināḍu, Aruvā, the land north of Aruvā, Śīdanāḍu, Malayamānāḍu, and Śōḻa Nāḍu[3]. Śēnavaraiyar, a commentator on the Tolkāppiyam, however, beginning with the South-East, enumerates them in order as Poṅgar-naḍu, Oḷi-nāḍu, Tenpāṇḍi-nāḍu, Kuṭṭa-nādu, Kuḍa-nāḍu, Panṛi-nādu, Karkā-nāḍu, Sīda-nādu, Pūḻi-nādu, Malai-nadu, Arūvā-nādu, ending with Aruvā vada talai, the last being probably what was long after Tolkappiyar's time known as Toṇḍaināḍu and was called the land of the Drāviḍas by northern writers.

This does not mean that the dialect of the Pāṇḍya country is superior to the dialects of the other twelve districts, as it is usually understood to mean, for one dialect is just as good or as bad as another, but that the literary dialect was first fashioned in the Pāṇḍya country and when this dialect was adopted for poetry in the other tracts they allowed local words to find a place therein.

The earliest poetry all lost:

Much poetry must have been composed before the rigid conventions that characterize the early poems that are now extant could have been evolved. The five classes of poems I have so frequently mentioned must have arisen, each in its own appropriate region, when the life of each region was fully developed, but before the migration of men from region to region began to obliterate the special characteristics of each tribe and brought about the deadly monotony of civilized life

[3] தென்பாண்டி குட்டங் குடங் கற்காவேண் பூழி
பன்றி யருவா அதன் வடக்கு — நன்றாய
சீதம் மலாடு புனனாடு செந்தமிழ் சேர்
ஏதமில் பன்னிரு நாட்டெண்.

which thoroughly masks the compelling influence of environment on culture. All this ancient poetry is lost. The earliest specimens of Tamil poetry we now possess cannot be assigned to any date much earlier than the beginning of the Christian era. Why did all this ancient literature come to be lost? Though writing was known to the Indians so early as 3,000 or 4,000 B. C. as has been revealed by the recent excavations at Harappa and Mohenjo Dāro, we must remember that for a very long time writing was used not for literary purposes but only for recording the glorious deeds of royal heroes, as the ancient inscriptions of the Sindhu valley as interpreted by Lieut Col. Waddel show. Even the sacredness of the Vedic mantras did not induce the Āryas of Āryāvartta to indite them except on the tablets of memory. Profane literature, I believe, came to be written on ōlai or birch bark only when the critic arose and pointed out its excellence and the desirability of preserving it from the lapses that human memory is subject to. Thus the much abused critic seems to have had a useful function in the evolution of culture; and in India especially he has been of eminent service to the cause of culture, for without the help of the critic, Tolkāppiyanār, we would not have been able to reconstruct a picture of ancient Tamil life. In the Tamil land, as in other lands, the early poets sang almost as unconciously as the birds; and it was only after the Āryas not only settled in the South but began to study the Tamil language and literature and to investigate the grammar of that language as well as of the poetry composed in it, that Tamil literature came to be committed to writing and acquire the temporary immortality which caligraphy confers on literature.

The earliest Tamil literature has all perished. But we may assume that the first Tamil poems must have been short odes of a few lines each; even in much later days odes varying in length from four to twenty or thirty lines continued to be the only poetry composed. The odes of the Ten Songs (Pattuppāṭṭu), a few hundreds of lines long, first began to appear in the V century A. D. and long epics were composed only after Aryan literature had begun to fertilize Tamil genius. The earlier poems, however, were absolutely free from Aryan influence and continued to be so for many ages, notwithstanding the facts that from the time of Paraśurāma, the Aryan cult was followed by stray Southerners who were called, on account of their being Aryanized, by the name of Brahmarākṣasas, and that the Southern followers of the Aryan cult slowly increased in numbers after Rāma's war with Rāvaṇa and again after the war of the Mahābhārata. For the Southern Āryas and the bulk of the Tamils were, just as in Vedic times Northern Aryas and Northern Dasyus were, each too consciously proud of their own cultural achievements and of the superiorty of their own ways of worship, to care for the other.

Freedom of early Tamil poetry from Sanskrit influence:

Tamil life pursued the even tenor of its course for many centuries untouched by anything Sanskritic. Very few Sanskrit words found their way into early Tamil literature, for the old Tamil vocabulary was perfectly competent to express the concrete ideas which alone appealed to the Tamil genius. The bulk of the Tamil people lived their life in their own old ways without

being affected by Ārya practices and Ārya theories of life. Hence there were two parallel currents of life in the Tamil country, that of the Tamils and that of the Southern Āryas, which did not mix their streams. The genius of the Tamils was utterly different from that of the Āryas. The Tamils accepted the seen world and were satisfied with the joys of the living present. The ineffaceable sex-urge and the delirious joys of fighting, love of women and hatred of enemies, respectively called Agam and Puṟam, were enough subjects for their songs. The Āryas, especially of the age succeeding the Bhārata Armageddon, were brooding over the vanity of earthly and heavenly loves and the greater vanity of wars, the fleeting joys of love and the dead sea fruit of the delights of fighting which turns into ashes in the mouth; they were constantly devising ways of escaping from the wheel of birth and re-birth, the contemplation of whose never ceasing revolution created in their hearts vairāgya, literally, lovelessness. Hence the Śanyāsa was developed among the Vaidikas, the Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva Āgamikas, the Jainas and the Bauddhas, with the hope that the renunciation of the evanescent pleasures of life would lead to the enjoyment of the eternal ānanda of immortal life unconditioned by time and space. The early Tamil poets were of the earth, earthy; they revelled in concrete images of the actualities of life as men know it: the post-Vedic Āryas were for ever forging abstract ideas which escape, like cotton wool, the grip of earthly minds, but are glorious realities only to those who have gone to the world where the sun and the moon shine not, not even the twinkling stars. The Tamil temperament was optimistic, whereas the Ārya temperament was pessimistic with regard to the seen world. The Tamils of those days were not

divided into rigid castes, but the Āryas were divided into four varṇas. The conventions of early Tamil poetry were utterly different from those of Sanskrit poetry. So the bulk of the Tamils and the Southern Āryas lived their separate lives without affecting each other's culture. Much of the early Tamil poetry is lost but enough remains to prove that for some time even after the beginning of the Christian era, there was absolutely no intrusion of Sanskrit culture into the minds of Tamil poets.

The Anthologies:

In the V and later centuries A.D., all that remained unforgotten of early Tamil poetry was collected together in different anthologies. Poems directly or remotely connected with war, numbering four hundred and of varying lengths, were collected into an anthology called the Puṛam Four Hundred. Early poems connected with love (Agam) were arranged in three anthologies, the principle of collection being the number of lines in each ode; the shortest ones were cast in the collection called Kuṛundogai, those of middling length in Naṛṛiṇai and the longer ones in Neḍundogai, or Agam four hundred, each collection again containing exactly four hundred odes. How could the anthology-makers get exactly four hundred, no more, no less, of each kind and whether they composed a few or rejected some to make the number round, are questions not possible to solve. All the poems in each anthology do not belong to one age. If we judge them from the diction, the subject-matter, the imagery and the allusions contained in them, it is not impossible to separate the earlier from the later ones. For instance, Sanskrit words are

almost entirely absent from the earlier ones; the customs referred to are ancient Tamil customs peculiar to the five regions; the fauna and flora alluded to belong to these same regions, the superstitions alluded to are Tamil, not Aryan; there is absolutely no reference to Aryan concepts, Aryan superstitions or Aryan poetic imagery; and above all, none of the earlier bards (pāṇar) were Brāhmaṇas. The latter began to compose Tamil poetry in the last century of the first half of the first millenium A. D., and though they strictly conformed to the age-long literary traditions of the Tamils, they were unable to prevent Aryan ideas, concepts, beliefs, superstitions, customs, etc., from intruding into their poems. It is desirable that some research scholar of the Madras University should take up this question for investigation and separate, from a careful weighing of internal evidence, the earlier of these one thousand six hundred odes from the later ones. But even without such elaborate research, I am sure that any one who reads these poems with care can satisfy himself that they cover a long age, at least as long as half a millenium, if not more.

The Agam Four Hundred:

Of these anthologies, the Agam four hundred seem to have been the earliest to be collected together, for its odes were made into an anthology by the orders of Ukkirapperuvaḻudi by Uruttira Śanman, who, according to the scholiast on Iṛaiyanār Agapporuḷ, presided, though dumb, over the meeting of scholars gathered to expound those sixty sutras. They all deal with love, post-nuptial and pre-nuptial, chiefly the latter. Three of the poems are anonymous and the rest are by 142 poets,

some of them ancient, and the rest belonging to the IV or V century A. D. They contain numerous similes in which are enshrined allusions to the kings and chiefs who flourished in that period and are of use in reconstructing the biographies of a few notables, sovereigns and nobles. From them can be derived information about the daily lives of the people. The odes in this anthology vary in length from 13 lines to 37. The five topics of Agam, kuṛiñji, love at first sight and incidents connected with the cause of that love, mullai, neydal and pālai, separation of lovers during periods of different duration and union thenceafter, and marudam, the disturbances of the even course of married love, owing to the interferences of hetairae, are treated in this book and the poems dealing with them are arranged in an artificial order. Odd numbers from 1 to 399 deal with pālai, 4 to 394, progressing arithmetically by 10 refer to mullai, 6 to 396 progressing similarly to marudam, 2 to 398 rising alternately by 4 or 6, i. e., 2, 8, 12, 18 etc., are on kuṛiñji, and multiples of 10 deal with neydal. So the dumb boy, who was the judge of the different interpretations of Iṛaiynār Agapporuḷ had a sense of symmetry in arranging his anthology.

The Kuṛundogai and Naṛṛiṇai:

The Kuṛundogai differs from the Agam only in this fact that the odes comprised in it vary in length from four to eight lines and the Naṛṛiṇai, from 9 to 12. There is nothing in the subject-matter of the poems in the three anthologies to distinguish one from another. All of them deal with both forms of love, allude to kings, and chiefs incidentally, and but rarely refer to Aryan gods or beliefs, though they are full of references to

old Tamil ideas and institutions. In the arrangement of topics in the latter two, there is no particular principle observed. The Naṟṟinal was made into an anthology by the orders of Pannādu tanda Māran Vaḻudi, and the Kuṟundogai, of Pūrikkō, both kings, probably, of the VI century A. D.

The Puṟam :

Under whose orders and by whom the Puṟam collection of 400 odes was made is not known. It differs from the other collections in several ways. First, it deals with the wars of kings and the gifts they gave to the poets who sang them. Secondly, dealing with wars, it also contains a number of elegies on dead kings and nobles. The first half of this anthology deals with the former subject, the next fourth with the latter and the last fourth seems to be a miscellaneous supplement in which odes discovered later on both subjects were thrust. Thirdly, to a large number of these Puṟam poems, colophons are added, noting the occasions when the poems were composed. These colophons seem to have been written by a person later than the one who made the anthology and who derived the information partly by a study of the poems and partly from tradition. This anthology is provided with an introductory ode by Pāradam Pāḍiya Perundēvanār, (Mahādeva who sang the Bhārata), a poet of the IX century A. D., who lived in the age of the Pallava Nandivarman, the victor of the battle of Teḷḷāṟu (c. 830-854 A. D.)[5]. This introductory ode is in praise of Śiva, describing this God as conceived after Āgama doctrines became popular in the VI to the IX centuries A. D. This Perundē-

[5] Vide my Tamil book on the 'Pallavas' p. 129.

vanār seems to have taken a great interest in the collections of the poems of an earlier age, for he has provided introductory odes in praise of Śiva also to the Agam four hundred and also to Aiṅguṟunūṟu, in praise of Muruga to the Kuṟundogai, and to the Naṟṟinai, a translation of a śloka of the Viṣṇu Sahasranāma.

Four other Anthologies of later poems:

Besides these four anthologies there are four others, called the five short hundred (Aiṅguṟunūṟu), the tenfold Ten (Padiṟṟuppattu), the Paripāḍal, and the Kali one hundred and fifty. These are not anthologies of floating poems like the former, but the first (Aiṅguṟunūṟu) consists of a hundred poems belonging to each of the five tiṇais, each hundred being composed by one poet for the purpose of illustrating the rules regarding them ; so the Kali one hundred and fifty contains five sets of about thirty each, in a metre different from that of the former, but composed with the same purpose. The Paripāḍal is again another form of poetry, and contains poems on special topics, like the river Vaigai, the God Tirumāl, or the God Murugan. The Tenfold Ten are poems sung to celebrate the glories of a series of Śēra kings. These latter four collections are characteristically different from the former four, in that these contain only occasional poems, whereas those were composed on set purpose to illustrate a set theme. The idea of composing poems following the canons of literary criticism as set forth in Tolkāppiyanār's Poruladigāram became current in later times. Moreover the poems that make up the later four anthologies belong to the time when the Aryan conceptions of Śiva and Viṣṇu and the methods of their worship taught in the

Āgamas had established themselves in the Tamil country, or, in other words, the Tamils had been Aryanized in thought and culture. While these poems still keep up the old Tamil poetic conventions, their religious ideas are modified by those of the Āgamas. Therefore some of the poems that constitute the four early anthologies are much earlier than those belonging to these later four. In a later age, when all these poems were thought to be old ones, these anthologies got the joint-name of eṭṭuttogai, the eight collections.

The Pattuppāṭṭu:

There is another anthology of ten long poems, called the Ten Songs. The Ten Songs are all long odes of varying lengths, the shortest containing 103 lines and the longest, 782. The earliest of them, called Porunarāṟṟuppaḍai, which sings about Karikālan in the earlier part of his reign, must have been composed a little before 400 A.D. and the latest, Tirumurugāṟṟu-paḍai, probably belongs to the end of the VI century. The gradual increase of Sanskrit words and the growing Aryanization of the country is very noticeable from the earliest of these Ten Songs to the latest and can be used as an auxiliary test of the age of the composition of each of these songs, in addition to the historical references in them. These ten poems do not greatly differ from the odes of the early four anthologies in poetic style and literary conventions and differ from them chiefly in the length of each piece. They are invaluable for the purpose of constructing complete pictures of the lives led by the Tamils between the IV and VI centuries A. D.

The Eighteen minor poems:

There is a third set of books called the Eighteen minor poems (Padineṉkīḻkkaṇakku). The general characteristic of these is that they consist generally of stanzas of two to four or five lines each. Some of these eighteen poems were composed to illustrate the old literary rules with regard to poems of love and war and may be said to continue the old tradition. The others, and especially the chief of them, the Tirukkuṟaḷ, introduces into Tamil a kind of poetry, totally absent from older Tamil literature, *viz.*, didactic poetry. Most edifying from a spiritual point of view, but constituting from an artistic point view yards of dreary didactic poetry, unrelieved by poetic images, this new kind of literature was a blend of the teachings of the Sanskrit (Dharma and Artha) Śāstras and the super-terse style of the sūtras, totally foreign to the muse that inspired the early anthologies and the Pattuppāṭṭu. The age of this didactic poetry of the eighteen-collection began in the end of the V century and ran on to the VIII. To a modern man of the XIX or XX century all the poems above referred to are old, which means nothing so long as the word 'old' is not defined. Unfortunately it has become the fashion to treat these three groups of anthologies as if they all belonged to one age—of one century or so—and to draw unhistorical conclusions therefrom, which has to be deprecated by all scholars who desire to study the evolutionary history of Tamil literature.

CHAPTER XIII.

LIFE OF THE TAMIL PEOPLE 500 B. C. TO 1 B. C.

Love in the hill-country:

All the available references to the Tamil kings or kingdoms during this period in the Pali or Sanskrit literature of Northern India and Ceylon have been mentioned in two previous sections. A vast amount of Tamil literature must have been composed during these five centuries; otherwise Agattiyanār and Tolkāppiyanār, as will be pointed out in a later chapter, could not have composed their wonderfully accurate grammars of the Tamil language. This literature is believed to have entirely perished; but I think some of the oldest odes in the existing anthologies may belong to this period. A few of them are anonymous; perhaps this anonymity is due to the fact that being very old poems, the names of the authors had been forgotten by the time they were included in the anthologies. Moreover such poems are characterised by the fact that Sanskrit words do not occur in them. Moreover the customs referred to in them are pure Tamil ones; there is no reference at all to Aryan ideas. Hence they may be taken as relics, all too few, of this period. I shall now quote a few of these poems, each characteristic of one of the five regions (tiṇai) of the Tamil land. These will enable the reader to reconstruct a picture of the life led by the Tamil people in those far off days. It will be found that this life was almost the same as that of the preceding and of the succeeding period. The spontaneity of love is vividly described in the following short ode. "What

are my mother ,nd your mother to each other? (Nothing). What i the relationship between my father and your fathe (Nothing). How did we come to know each oth Like the water which falls on a fertile field, th ving hearts have blended with each other'[1]. Then, a er, lovers were inconstant. The love-lorn maiden to lament desertion. "I am stuck up to this place. hen the elephant frightened by the sound of the sling the guardians of the millet-field leaves hold of the reen bamboo, it shoots up like the fish-hook (when a fish has been caught); so my heart has gone to the place (where I first met him"[2]). Gossipping neighbours have ever interfered with the course of true love; and the foster-sister of the victim of love advises her in cryptic langu-ge to throw discretion to the winds. "The hill-chief, whose breast is daubed with sweet sandal paste, from whose neck hangs a garland of flowers, whose hair is ecorated with the water-lily (symbol of love), and who omes to our house and goes away at midnight, longs r your embrace. The red-eyed terrible tiger stalks t e frightened elk (i.e. the neighbours try to expose your

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[1] யாயும் யாயும் யாரா கியரோ
வெந்தையு நுந்தையு மெம்முறைக் கேளிர்
யானுநீயு மெவ்வழி யறிதுஞ்
செம்புலப் பெய்ந்நீர் போல
வன்புடை நெஞ்சந் தாங்கலந்தனவே.

Kur. 40.

[2] யானே யீண்டை யேனே யென்னல
னேனல் காவலர் கவணொலி வெரீஇக்
கான யானை கைவிடு பசுங்கழை
மீனெறி தூண்டிலி னிவக்குங்
கானக நாடனொ டாண்டொழிந் தன்றே.

-Ib. 54.

love intrigues). Hence this is no tir for secrecy. Therefore, simple maiden, open the door (and let every one know)" [3]. The lover dela s the celebratic f the formal marriage which, according to the social-l of the community, ought to crown the long-drawn e of love, and the foster-sister thus remonstrates h him:—" Oh hill-chief, in your country the clouds w have poured rain rest on the hills. The rivulet fr the high hill wherefrom hang honey-combs falls dov with a roar. From the branches of the beautiful vēnga trees, in the morning the golden flowers scatter sweet scent. The handsome peacock covered with the pollen dust, along with its mates on the green crag, enjoys the rays of the young sun. To whom have I to describe the love-sickness of my friend so as to dispel the pair caused by your breast? Whenever you came to embrace her you spoke sweet words, but now you do not realize that you can save her from harm by marrying her an you hesitate to do so. To whom can I complain abou this (but to you"?.)[4] These poems belong to the clas

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3 மலைச்சேர், அஞ்செஞ் சாந்தி னார மார்பினன்
சுனைப்பூங் குவளைச் சுரும்பார் கண்ணிய
னடுநாள் வந்து நம்மனைப் பெயரும்
மடவர லரிவைநின் மார்பம ரின்றுணை
மன்ற மரையா விரிய வேறட்டுச்
செங்க ணிரும்புலி குழுமு மதனான்
மறைத்தற் காலையோ வன்றே
திறப்பல் வாழிவேண் டன்னைநங் கதவே.

Kur. 321.

4 பெய்துபோ கெழிலி வைகுமலை சேரத்
தேன்றூங் குயர்வரை யருவி யார்ப்ப
வேங்கை தந்த வெற்பணி நன்னாட்
பொனணி னன்ன பூஞ்சினை துழைஇக்

Kuṛiñji, i.e. those that deal with the pre-nuptial love, characteristic of the hill-country.

Lovers in Mullai:

Mullai, that of the wooded region, deals with the intense longing caused by the temporary separation of lovers. The lover, returning from a war, thus addresses his charioteer. "Our king has concluded his war. On the hill-streams the blue lily blooms bright as maiden's eyes. In the broad forests of vēṅgai trees which scatter their flowers all round, the humming bees spread in all directions. Our soldiers, after marching along the road straight like a long street, have stopped at different spots. The hoofs of the horses tread upon the thick petals of the white kāndaḷ (Gloriosa superba) which look like broken bangles made of chank. Have the crows shown omens prognosticating the near approach of my strong shoulders to my loving wife whose forelap is covered with beauty spots and whose words are sweet and who is consoling my son with stories?"[5] The pangs of separation,

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கமழ்தா தாடிய கவின்பெறு தோகை
பாசறை மீமிசைக் கணங்கொள்பு ஞாயிற்
றுறுகதி ரிளவெயி லுண்ணு நாட
னின்மார் பணங்கிய செல்ல வருநோ
யார்க்குநொந் துறைக்கோ யானே பன்னாட்
காமர் நனிசொற் சொல்லி
யேமமென் றருளாய் நீமயங் கினையே-

Nar. 396.

5 இறையு மருந்தொழின் முடித்தெனப் பொறைய
கண்போ னீலஞ் சுனைதொறு மலர
வீதா வேங்கைய வியனெடும் புறவி
னிம்மென் பறவை யிண்டுகிளை யிரிய
நெடுந்தெரு வன்ன நேர்கொ ணெடுவழி

however short, were, it seems, unbearable. Thus in the presence of her forter-sister weeps a maiden. "The sun is set, the mullai has flowered. The anger of the sun is cooled down in the evening. If I have to swim for my life, do you think that the flood of darkness is broader than the ocean ?"[6]

Pangs of separation in Neydal :

With the Neydal, coastal region, is associated the longer separation which makes the heart of the maiden bitter. "My natural beauty is withered ; my shoulders have lost their handsomeness ; my soul is soured ; I do not sleep at nights ; my face has become sallow. Is this ruin the fruit of my laughing so as to show bright teeth and playing with the lord of the harbour, where the white crane cries, and where the waves break and scatter the flowers of the cool sweet-

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யிளைய ரேகுவனர் பரிப்ப வளையெனக்
காந்தள் வள்ளிதழ் கவிகுளம் பறுப்பத்
தோள்வலி யாப்ப வீண்டுநம் வரவினைப்
புள்ளறி வுறீஇயின கொல்லோ தெள்ளிதிற்
காதல் கெழுமிய நயத்த ளேதில்
புதல்வற் காட்டிப் பொய்க்குந்
திதலை யல்குற் றேமொழி யாட்கே.

Nar. 161.

6. எல்லை கழிய முல்லை மலர
கதிர்சினந் தணிந்த கையறு மாலை
யுயிரை வரம்பாக நீந்தின மாயி
னெவன் கொல் வாழி தோழி
கங்குல் வெள்ளங் கடலினும் பெரிதே.

Kur. 387.

smelling forest "[7] This is how the foster-sister consoles a love-lorn lady: " The young fisher lads whose work is hard desire to catch with their well-plaited nets shoals of fish, including the shrimp which has a soft head, thin as the flower of the cassia which grows in the forest. Like the cruelly strong hunter lads who get up trees for frightening the deer, the young fishermen get into the fishing boats and go across the wilderness of waters, capture the shark with the saw-like mouth and other strong fishes, cut them up and fill their boats with their meat. They return to the shore and unload them on the sand spread by the winds round the salt-pans. In the fishing villages near those saltpans there will be a bustle when your lover arrives in his chariot." [8] The poet takes advantage of the conventional association

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[7] தொல்கவின் றொலைந்து தோணலஞ் சாஅ
யல்ல நெஞ்சமோ டல்கலுந் துஞ்சாது
பசலை யாகி விளிவது கொல்லோ
வெண்குருகு நரலுந் தண்கமழ் கானற்
பூமலி பொதும்பர் நன்மலர் மயக்கி
விலங்குதிரை யுடைதருந் துறைவனொ
டிலங்கெயிறு தோன்ற நக்கதன் பயனே.

Kuṛ. 381.

[8] அத்த விருப்பைப் பூவி னன்ன
துய்த்தலை யிறவொடு தொகைமீன் பெறீஇயர்
வரிவலைப் பரதவர் கருவினைச் சிறாஅர்
மரன்மேற் கொண்டு மான்கணந் தகைமார்
வெந்திற விளையவர் வேட்டெழுந் தாங்குத்
திமின்மேற் கொண்டு திரைச்சுர நீந்தி
வாள்வாய்ச் சுறவொடு வயமீன் கெண்டி
நிணம்பெய் தோணிய ரிகுமண விழிதரும்
பெருங்கழிப் பாக்கங் கல்லென
வருமே தோழி கொண்கன் றேரே.

Naṛ. 111.

of the sea-coast with the long separation of lovers and describes fisherfolk and their ways.

Long parting in Pālai:

In the kind of poetry called Pālai is described either the going away of the lover to distant countries which lie beyond forests or the pangs of the mother and other relatives when the girl elopes with the lover. A specimen of the former is this. 'My lover (though of a rich family) has not had the experience of the domestic life wherein the householder can cure the distress of beggars; he frequently praised my eyes, my shoulders, my cool, sweet-smelling hair and my forelap covered with beauty spots and was here till yesterday. Today he is gone, they say, to the treeless desert, which stretches vast like the sea and where the deer mistakes the mirage for water. He has gone by himself to the hot desert where the sun stays long and where the wild mango-tree grows on the brackish soil, where the alkali looks like the drops of butter which lie strewn on the pot made of clay and baked, in which curds are churned, the butter drops having been melted by the heat and made incapable of being gathered "[9].

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[9] கண்ணுந் தோளுந் தண்ணறுங் கதுப்புந்
திதலை யல்குலும் பலபா ராட்டி
நெருநலு மிவணர் மன்னே யின்றே
பெருநீ ரொப்பிற் பேஎய் வெண்டேர்
மாணி னீளிடை மானசை யுறாஉஞ்
சுடுமட் டசும்பின் மங்தந் தின்ற
பிறவா வெண்ணெ யுருப்பிடத் தன்ன
வுவரெழு களரி யோமையங் காட்டு
வெயில்வீற் றிருந்த வெம்பலை யருஞ்சு
ரேகுவ ரென்ப தாமே தம்வயி
னிரந்தோர் மாற்ற லாற்றா
வில்லின் வாழ்க்கை வல்லா தோரே. Naṛ. 84.

Notwithstanding the fact that love-marriages were the norm, no mother would like to bear the pangs of desertion when her daughter elopes with her lover. Even if the mother did not disapprove of the girl's seeking her happiness in her own way, she would be distressed by the ridicule of her neighbours. Hence the following bitter laments. " The large-eared calf of the buffalo recently calved was sleeping in the stable where the pollen dust was fallen. She left us sleeping in the cool, large house, being intoxicated by the false words of her lover and desirous to go to his distant land. My daughter, whose eyes, touched with collyrium, looked like the blue lily, ate the sweet fruit dropped down from the young Nelli tree and drank the waters of the spring (and left me). May Death, which did dot carry away my life so that I might be buried in an urn, before I had to go in search of her in the evening moonlight which looks like the strips of the tender palm leaf cut and spread on the ground, himself die and be buried in a large urn [10].

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10. இரும்புனிற் றெருமைப் பெருஞ்செவிக் குழவி
பைந்தா தெருவின் வைகுதுயின் மடியுஞ்
செழுந்தண் மனையோ டெம்மிவ ணொழியச்
செல்பெருங் காளை பொய்மருண்டு சேய்நாட்டுச்
சுவைக்காய் நெல்லிப் போக்கரும் பொங்கர்
வீழ்கடைத் திரள்கா யொருங்குடன் றின்று
வீசுனைச் சிறுநீர் குடியினன் கழிந்த
குவளை யுண்கணெள் மகளோ ரன்ன
செய்போழ் வெட்டிப் பெய்த லாய
மாலைவிரி நிலவிற் பெயர்புறங் காண்டற்கு
மாயிருந் தாழி கவிப்பத்
தாவின்று கழிகவெற் கொள்ளாக் கூற்றே.
Nar. 271.

With the lapse of time abnormal manifestations of the love-instinct began to develop and become the subject of love-poetry (Agam). One was the extremely voilent way in which a rejected lover behaved. This was called 'mounting the (Palmyra) stem', maḍalēṛudal. Two odes of a later age may be quoted to illustrate this:—"If love becomes violent, they wear garlands of the unblown flower of the erukku (calotropis gigantea). They proclaim aloud (their troubles) in the streets. They do other things (such as committing suicide)"[11] "The young man mounts the stem of the large-headed palmyra, wears on his breast a garland of gems, and another of white bones, comes out in the streets so that others may ridicule him, giving up at once all shame. The maiden who walks slowly so that her cloth glitters, is still stern, notwithstanding my mediation"[12]

The playmates of an obdurate maiden report to her:—"A man has made a horse, which does not require food, with the stem of the palmyra leaf, hung small bells

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[11] மாவென மடலு மூர்ப பூவெனக்
குவிமுகி ழெருக்கங் கண்ணியுஞ் சூடுப
மறுகி னார்க்கவும் படுப
பிறிது மாகுப காமங் காழ்க்கொளினே.

Kuṛ. 17.

[12] விழுத்தலைப் பெண்ணை விளையன் மாமடன்
மணியணி பெருந்தார் மார்பிற் பூட்டி
வெள்ளென் பணிந்துபிற ரெள்ளத் தோன்றி
யொருநாண் மருங்கிற் பெருநா ணீக்கித்
தெருவி னியலவுந் தருவது கொல்லோ
கலிங்கவி ழசைநடைப் பேதை
மெலிந்தில ளாம்விடற் கமைந்த தூதே.

Ib. 182.

to it and tied it with straps. He has worn a garland of the short buds of the calotropis gigantea and mounted it and young boys are dragging the horse along the streets behind us."[13]

This kind of poetry, called Perundiṇai, is interesting because, after 600 A. D. when devotional songs began to be composed, it gave birth to a special kind of devotional songs called Maḍal, where the devotee is the person whose love is not accepted and the Lord, the object of devotion.

Ordinary life of the people:

The daily life of the people, other than the preocupations of love, must also have been depicted in the poems of this period, but as thy are all lost the poems of the next period are quoted below to help to form a picture of the daily life of the people, region after region. There could not have been much difference between the lives of the people in the two periods.

In the hill regions:

An idea of life in the hill country can be got from the following ode which embodies the hopes of the heroine for a speedy celebration of the formal marriage ceremony which is the culmination of a love-adventure.

"At midnight, the wide-mouthed bear, searching for food, on seeing a snake's nest covered with bent lines, breaks it and roars so as to frighten the cobra within,

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[13] சிறுமணி தொடர்ந்து பெருங்கச்சு நிறீஇக்
குறுமுகி ழெருக்கங் கண்ணி சூடி
யுண்ணா நன்மாப் பண்ணி யெம்முடன்
மறுகுடன் திரிதருஞ் சிறுகுறு மாக்கள்-

Nar. 220, ll. 1-4.

and stands, drawing a long breath, like the bellows of the blacksmith. As at such a time he comes to me, I am full of fear for his safety. Hence if I beg him to marry me, he will do so without delay and take me to his house in the hill-country, where the elephant roars at dawn and awakes the hill-men who wear garlands of Vēngai flowers, so that they might take their bulls and thresh the soft stalks of the panicum and stack the straw on the rock which is as broad as the threshing floor of the agricultural regions."[14]

"The demons are abroad and the village has not gone to sleep. The watchmen who guard this village and sing the Kuṟiñji tune so as to frighten the hearers, are awake. The striped tiger roars at the foot of the hill ready to fight the strong elephant. In the middle of the long night when the rain is pouring on the hill-side, the serpent on hearing the thunder vomits out the blue gem it possesses. Though my shoulders have

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[14] இரைதே ரெண்கின் பகுவா யேற்றை
கொடுவரிப் புற்றம் வாய்ப்ப வாங்கி
நல்லரா நடுங்க வுரறிக் கொல்ல
னூதுலைக் குருகி னுள்ளுயிர்த் தகழு
நடுநாள் வருத லஞ்சுதும் யாமென
வரைந்துவர விரக்குவ மாவி னம்மலை
நன்னாள் வதுவை கூடி நீடின்று
நம்மொடு செல்வர்மற் றோழி மெல்ல
வேங்கை கண்ணிய ரெருதெற்றி களமர்
நிலங்கண் டன்ன வகன்கட் பாசறை
மென்றினை நெடும்போர் புரிமார்
துஞ்சுகளி றெடுப்புந்தம் பெருங்க னாட்டே.

Nar. 125.

become lean for longing for him, I wish he will not come to me over such a road "[15].

One of the duties of the girls of the hill-country was to watch the fields of panicum when the corn was ripening. That is why there were plenty of opportunities for meeting their lovers. When the season for harvesting arrived, the girls were confined to their houses. Hence the playmate of a maiden stricken with love thus laments :—" The spikes of the millet (have ripened) in this weather, when it is so hot that the wide waves of the sea look as if they would dry up. Our people will not only garner them but will confine you to your house. How can you wander along with the hill-chief on the black millet-field which lies on the side of the hill which smells sweet with gold-coloured flowers of the tall Vēngai tree, scare away the red-mouthed green parrot, bathe in his company in the mountain-stream close by, and daub on your person the paste of the sandal which grows on the forest near and is so sweet-smelling as to attract bees? I fear your love to each

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[15] கழுதுகால் கிளர ஊர்மடிந் தன்றே
யுருகெழு மரபிற் குறிஞ்சி பாடிக்
கடியுடை வியனகர்க் கானவர் துஞ்சார்
வயக்களிறு பொருத வாள்வரி வேங்கை
கன்முகைச் சிலம்பிற் குழுமு மன்னே
மென்றோ ணெகிழ்ந்துநாம் வருந்தினு மின்றவர்
வாரா ராயினோ நன்றுமற் றில்ல
வுயர்வரை யடுக்கத் தொளிறுபு மின்னிப்
பெயல்கான் மயங்கிய பொழுதுகழி பானாட்
டிருமணி யரவுத்தேர்ந் துழல
வுருமுச்சிவந் தெறியு மோங்குவரை யாறே.

Nar. 255.

other will shrink and disappear. How shall we remedy this, my friend ?"[16]

In the desert-country :

"In the village of the arid country near the long hill whose surface is cracked, after sunset, they eat their scanty food and, not knowing the full downpour of rain, get dirty water from the pits in the rock belonging to the ruined village temple. At nights, dressed in red-dyed garments, with excellent quiver, the highway robbers watch the fearsome road."[17] The most easily available food in this region was the wood-apple. "The tall wood-apple tree has roots which crack the soil, large boughs, and scales (on its bark) like those of the iguana. When

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16 யாங்குச்செய் வாங்கொ றோழி பொன்வீ
வேங்கை யோங்கிய தேங்கமழ் சாரற்
பெருங்க னாடனோ டிரும்புனத் தல்கிச்
செவ்வாய்ப் பைங்கிளி யோப்பி யவ்வாய்ப்
பெருவரை யடுக்கத் தருவி யாடிச்
சார லாரம் வண்டுபட நீவிப்
பெரிதமர்ந் தியைந்த கேண்மை சிறுநனி
யரியபோலக் காண்பேன் விரிதிரைக்
கடல்பெயர்ந் தனைய வாகிப்
புலர்பதங் கொண்டன வேனற் குரலே.

Nar. 259.

17 படுசுட ரடைந்த பகுவாய் நெடுவரை
முரம்புசேர் சிறுகுடிப் பரந்த மாலைப்
புலம்புகூட் டுண்ணும் புல்லென் மன்றத்துக்
கல்லுடைப் படுவிற் கலுழி தந்து
நிறைபெய லறியாக் குறைகூ ணல்லிற்
றுவர்செய யாடைச் செந்தொடை மறவ
ரதர்த் தல்கு மஞ்சுவரு நெறி.

Nar. 33 ll. 1—7.

the stalk of its fruits breaks, they fall down and look like balls left by children after their play is over on the green grassy plain which looks like a carpet. (The people of the Pālai) eat the fruit as their principal food."[18]

In the pastoral tracts:

In the pasture lands, the tenders of cattle led as jolly lives as the people of the mountainous tracts. "In the small (pastoral) villages with broad fields, the herdsman who tends sheep wears the white short-stalked flowers from the shrunk boughs of the Kurā-shrub in the small dry-grain fields."[19]

"Her husband's cloth is well-washed, but, after he put it on, he (dirtied it by wiping on it) the thin fingers which are like the November-flowers, with which he has stirred the thick curds and which he has not washed. He is eating the tamarind soup, which she cooked for him and on which she has thrown aromatics, after frying them so that the sweet-smelling smoke entered her lily-like eyes which had been daubed with eye-paint; and

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[18] பார்பக வீழ்ந்த வேருடை விழுக்கோட்
டுடும்படைந் தன்ன நெடும்பொரி விளவி
ஞட்டொழி பந்திற் கோட்டுமூக் கிறுபு
கம்பலத் தன்ன பைம்பயிர்த் தாஅம்
வெள்ளில் வல்சி.

Nar. 24, ll. 1-5.

[19] கொல்லைக் கோவலர் குறும்புனஞ் சேர்ந்த
குறுங்காற் குரவின் குவியிணர் வான்பூ
வாடுடை யிடைமகன் சூடப் பூக்கும்.

Nar. 266, ll. 1-3.

when she looked at it, her bright face beamed with delight." [20]

"The lord of the land where sound the drums and the bull-roarer also, made by splitting the end of the stick of the bamboo, near the mountain spring which looks like liquor poured on a sapphire bowl, embraced my shoulders long ago in the white moonlight. Now the mullai bud has begun to smell sweet." [21].

"The mullai spreads on the Kaḷḷi whose head resembles the king-fisher which grows in the pebbly Pālai tracts. The shepherd who drives to pasture herds of sheep with shaking heads, with strong hands plucks during the nights the sweet-smelling mullai flower and strings then along with the white young leaves of the palmyra; these garlands spread perfume along the streets of my village which are decorated by them" [22]

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[20] முளிதயிர் பிசைந்த காந்தண் மெல்விரல்
கழுவுறு கலிங்கங் கழாஅ துடீஇக்
குவளை யுண்கண் குய்ப்புகை கமழத்
தான்றுழந் தட்ட தீம்புளிப் பாக்க
ரினிதெனக் கணவ னுண்டலி
னுண்ணிதின் மழிந்தன் றொண்ணுதன் முகனே.
Kuṛ. 167.

[21] மட்டம் பெய்த மணிக்கலத் தன்ன
விட்டுவெர்ச் சுனைய பகுவாய்த் தட்டைப்
பறையிற் கறங்கு நாடன்
றொல்லைத் திங்க ணெடுவெண் ணிலவின்
மணந்தனன் மன்னனெந் தோளே
யின்றுமுல்லை முகைநா றும்மே. Kuṛ. 193.

[22] பரற்றலை போகிய சிரற்றலைக் கள்ளி
மீமிசைக் கலித்த வீநறு முல்லை
யாடுதலைத் துருவின் றோடுதலைப் பெயர்க்கும்
வன்கை யிடைய னெல்லிப் பறீஇ
வெண்போழ் தைஇய வலங்கலந் தொடலை
மறுகுடன் கமழு மாலைச்
சிறுகுடி. Naṛ. 169. ll. 4-10.

'In the dawn when the darkness disappears the boys who tend cattle mount on the backs of the buffaloes and take them out to pasture. The boys leave their calves in the stall, so that (on their return in the evening) they could draw from the broad-headed black buffalo a large quantity of sweet milk "[23].

In the sea-side region:

The daily routine of the pleasant life led by the girls of the sea-side region can be inferred from this ode sung by the playmate of the heroine :—

"Friend, may you live long! Tell me, flocks of herons after preying on the fishes in the dark salt-marshes, fly in rows to the nests built on the curved palmyra leaves and sleep there in the dark. To the white sandy plain round the groves of these palm trees, you go along with your playmates in the morning, pluck the leaves of the wet water-lily which has flowers smelling sweetly of honey and clothe yourself in garments of the leaves curved in different directions. You run about and play in front of the hut which is adorned with designs drawn with flour; you delight in looking at the red crabs, which run in pairs below the roots of the Pandanus, whose stem is bent and is beaten by the waters of the sea smelling of fish. (Tell me) what illness has made you give up these games "[24].

[23] மன்ற வெருமை மலர்தலைக் காரா
னின்றிம் பாற்பயங் கொண்மார் கன்றுவிட்
டூர்க்குறு மாக்கண் மேற்கொண்டு கழியும்
பெரும் புலர் விடியலின்.

Nar. 80, ll. 1-4.

[24] உரையாய் வாழி தோழி யிருங்கழி
யிரையார் குருகி னிறைப்பறைத் தொழுதி

In the river-valleys:

The kind of life led in the river-valleys can be inferred from the following extracts:—"(The nurse) would take with one hand a broad, bright gold cup of white milk sweetened with honey and raise with the other a small thin stick, with flowers wound round it, and say, 'eat this'; the girl would run about, sounding her anklets filled with clear, bright pearls. The nurse whose soft hair was grey would run after her, but could not catch the child, who would run to the pandal in front of the house and reply, 'I will not eat it.' So playful was the child"[25].

வாங்குமடற் குடம்பைத் தூங்கிருட் டுவன்றும்
பெண்ணை யோங்கிய வெண்மணற் படப்பைக்
கான லாயமொடு காலைக் குற்ற
கட்கம ழலர தண்ணறுங் காவி
யம்பகை நெறித்தழை யணிபெறத் தைஇ
வரிபுனை சிற்றிற் பரிசிறந் தோடிப்
புலவுதிரை யுதைத்த கொடுந்தாட் கண்டற்
செம்பே ரிரணை யலவற் பார்க்குஞ்
சிறுவிளை யாடலு மழுங்க
நினக்குப்பெருந் துயர மாகிய நோயே.

Naṛ. 123.

[25] பிரசங் கலந்த வெண்சுவைத் தீம்பால்
விரிகதிர்ப் பொற்கலத் தொருகை யேந்திப்
புடைப்பிற் சுற்றும் பூந்தலைச் சிறுகோ
லுண்ணென் றோக்குபு புடைப்பத் தெண்ணீர்
முத்தரிப் பொற்சிலம் பொலிப்பத் தத்துற்
றரிநரைக் கூந்தற் செம்முது செவிலியர்
பரீஇ மெலிந்தொழியப் பந்த ரோடி
யேவன் மறுக்குஞ் சிறுவிளை யாட்டி.

Naṛ. 110 ll. 1—8.

"You, ploughmen, who have yoked the buffalo and are ploughing the field, you have built up many stacks of paddy, which look like artificial hills. You open your eyes when the cool dawn breaks. Your hands hanker for balls of rice mixed with soup in which bits of the meat of the black-eyed varāl-fish float. You eat to the full and go along with your wives to plant the seedlings in the wet clay "[26]. The daily duty of the daughter of the house was to cook food ; and the lover, posing as a candidate for the hospitality of her parents manages to get a sight of her and incidentally gives us an idea of the house-hold arrangements in an agricultured village. "The soft-gaited calves of the crooked-horned buffalo are tied to every pillar (in front) of the house. In that fair house, delightful to see, my fair sweetheart, bright and buxom, of languid looks, who wears round ear-rings and has slipped a small ring on her slender fingers, has cut plaintain-leaves till her hands have become red ; and as their stalks are thick, she split them in pieces, so as to serve as eating-trays. Her eyes are filled with the smoke of cooking. Drops of sweat stand on her brows, fair like the crescent moon ; she wipes the sweat with the hem of her garment, and stands in the kitchen, full of love to me. Let those who desire food come in with

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[26] மலைகண் டன்ன நிலைபுணர் நிவப்பிற்
பெருநெற் பல்கூட் டெருமை யுழவ
கண்படை பெறாது தண்புலர் விடியிற்
கருங்கண் வராஅற் பெருந்தடி மிளிர்வையொடு
புகர்வை யரிசிப் பொம்மற் பெருஞ்சேறு
கவர்படு கையை கழும மாந்தி
நீருறு செறுவி னாறுமுடி யழுத்தநின்
னடுந ரோடுசேறி.

Nar. 60, ll. 1—8.

me; if they do, this black, beautiful girl's eyes will not become red with anger; but on the contrary we will see her smiling, so as to display her small teeth, sharp like thorns, and fit to be kissed by me"[27].

Village Administration:

Life in Tamil India in the early times was almost entirely rural. The villages in those days were self-contained in a greater degree than now. The village administration did not require any complicated code of laws; what by way of laws the people wanted was supplied by custom. Whenever any trouble arose, the village elders met under the village tree, generally the banyan, as the lower orders of people do even today and settled their disputes over a pot of toddy. The open place under the tree was called podiyil, podiyam, or poduvil, the public place, also manṛu or manṛam. Manṛam originally meant the village common. The

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27 தடமருப் பெருமை மடநடைக் குழவி
தூண்டொறும் யாத்த காண்டகு நல்லிற்
கொடுங்குழை பெய்த செழுஞ்செய் பேதை
சிறுதாழ் செறித்த மெல்விரல் சேப்ப
வாழை யீர்ந்தடி வல்லிதின் வகைஇப்
புகையுண் டமர்த்த கண்ண டகைபெறப்
பிறைநுதற் பொறித்த சிறுநுண் பல்விய
ரந்துகிற் றலையிற் றுடையின ணப்புலந்
தட்டி லோளே யம்மா வரிவை
யெமக்கே, வருகதில் விருந்தே சிவப்பா னன்று
சிறியமுள் ளெயிறு தோன்ற
முறுவல் கொண்ட முகங்காண் கம்மே.

Naṛ. 120.

cattle of the village were herded there.[28] A plain field was usually set apart for public purposes and was also called manṟam. To it 'soft-shouldered women' resorted.[29] In every (such) field the Kuravai was danced[30].

In this plain was planted the characteristic tree of the region. Thus we hear of the margosa on the plain which belonged to the Pāṇḍya and from which he got leaves to adorn his head with. Thus Neḍuñjeḻiyan adorned himself with the bright tender leaves from the big branch of the margosa on the plain, made into a garland along with the long vine of the uḻiñai before he started to fight with his enemies.'[31] "He bathed in the cool tank in front of his ancient town, wore the tender

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கன்றுபயிர் குரல மன்று நிறை புகுதரு, 'bellowing so as to invite the calves, (the cows) entered the common and filled it.' Agam, 14, l. 11. This line occurs without any change in Kuṟiñjippāṭṭu, l. 218. Puṟam 387 speaks of மன்று நிறையு நிரை, 'rows (of cattle) which fill the common', l. 24. 'The murderous bull strayed over the common', கொல்லேறு திரிதரு மன்றம்', Puṟ. 309. l. 4.

29 Puṟam 373 says that on the death of some heroes women ceased to go to the manṟam.

மென்றோள் மகளிர் மன்றம் பேணார். l. 12.

30 மன்று தோறு நின்ற குரவை. Maduraikkāñji, l. 615. Periyatirumoḻi, 11-2-2-12. says Kṛṣṇa danced the Kuravai, in the manṟu. மன்றில் குரவை பிணைந்த மால்.

31 மன்ற வேம்பின் மாச்சினை யொண்டளிர்
நெடுங்கொடி யுழிஞைப் பவரொடு மிடைந்து
செறியத் தொடுத்த தேம்பாய் கண்ணி

Pur. 76, ll. 4—6.

leaves of the margosa on the plain"[32] and went to the battle-field. Other trees growing on the common, characteristic of other regions were the jack[33], the wood-apple[34] the alandalai[35], the jujube[36], the Alexandrian laurel[37].

The words Podiyil or manṛam, also meant the open place under the shade of the tree, generally banyan, where the village elders met to solve village problems. This tree was in front of the village[38]. Even the late poet Māmūlanār refers to its existence in his age[39], as it exists even to-day. When towns arose, kings built first, a public hut, then a public house or town assembly hall, and this was continued to be called by the same names. In them the cut branch of a tree, called Kandu or Kandam, was installed and the god residing in that post was worshipped with beat of drum.[40] As among the Āryas, in these assembly halls dicing, which in ancient days was associated with religious rites, was conducted. The following poem is a des-

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32 மூதூர் வாயிற் பனிக்கய மண்ணி
மன்ற வேம்பி னொண்குழை மலைந்து
Pur. 79 ll, 1—2.

33 Puṛ. 128, l. 1, 374, l. 5.

34 Puṛ. 181, l. 1.

35 Pur. 325. l. 11.

36 Ib. 34. l. 12.

37 Naṛ. 49, l. 8.

38 முன்னூர்ப் பொதியில். Puṛ. 390, l. 19.

39 தொன்மூதாலத்து தரும்பணைப் பொதியில், 'the place of meeting under the big branch of the old, well-grown banyan tree.' Agam 251, l. 8.

40 பொதுவிற் றூங்கும் விசியுறு தண்ணுமை.
Puṛ. 89. l. 7.

cription of an abandoned temple of the kind. "Once the long lines of evil-smelling smoke from the roasting of fish curled round the big curved boughs of the marudam tree growing on the fields. Now the village yields crops no longer, the god has abandoned the post in the temple where the drum was sounded and the offerings made, and the temple is in ruins; in the pits made by the dice once rolled by the grey-haired elders, the many-spotted jungle-fowl lays eggs."[41] Similarly the Naṟṟiṇai refers to the water collected from pits in the ruined Podiyil[42]; in the same anthology there is another ode which describes the evening as the time "when the demon, whose ugly fingers are like the over-mature fruit of the muruṅgai tree in summer and whose throat is strong, jumps up from its haunt in the ruined Podiyil for the purpose of eating the food mixed with flowers offered to the god of the prosperous village."[43]

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[41] மீன்சுடு புகையின் புலவுநாறு நெடுங்கொடி
வயலுழை மருதின் வாங்குசினை வலக்கும்
பெருநல் யாணரி னொரீஇ யினியே
கலிகெழு கடவுள் கந்தங் கைவிடப்
பலிகண் மாறிய பாழ்படு பொதியி
னரைமூ தாளர் நாயிடக் குழிந்த
வல்லி னல்லக நிறையப் பல்பொறிக்
கான வாரண மீனும்,

Puṛ. 52, ll. 9—16.

மன்றத்துக்

[42] கல்லுடைப் படுவிற் கலுழி.

Ib. 39, ll. 3—4.

[43] வேனின் முருக்கின் விளைதுண ரன்ன
மாணா விரல வல்வாய்ப் பேஎய்
மல்லன் மூதூர் மலர்ப்பலி யுணீஇய
மன்றம் போழும் புன்கண் மாலை.

Naṛ. 73, ll. 1—4.

In still later times a large-sized building was put up as a Town Hall, and it served also as a rest-house for poets and others who waited for royal bounty. Thus, "one side of the Town Hall (Podiyil), of many (wooden) columns, was a place of rendezvous."[44] All these places in the town were in later times used as resting places in processions of the temple-gods[45].

Now remains the question, who was the god who lived in the banyan tree, under which the village council was held, and in the post, Kandam, planted in the primitive hut, in which the village elders met? Before answering this question, it may be pointed that in the New Stone Age long before the times we are here dealing with, stone lingams were made obviously for purposes of worship. After the commencement of the age of metals (copper in Northern India and iron in Southern India), phallic emblems continued to be worshipped. What look like such have been unearthed at Harappa and Mohenjo Daro. They are of two classes—chessmen-like objects, varying in height from half-an-

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44 பல்காற்

பொதியி லொருசிறை பள்ளி யாக.

Pur. 375, ll. 2-3.

மன்று படு பரிசிலர், 'those that waited for royal bounty in the Town Hall'.

Ib. 135, l. 11.

45 மன்றமும் பொதியிலும் கந்துடை நிலையினும்.

Tirumurugāṛṛuppaḍai, l. 226.

The Town Hall of Uṛaiyūr, which served also as the Hall of Justice, is referred to as மூதூர் மன்றம், in Pur. 220, l. 7. The commentator, however, interprets மன்றம் in this passage as செண்டு வெளி, 'race-course.'

inch to a foot or more and ringstones from half an inch to three or four feet in diameter. "Taken in conjunction with the circumstances in which some of them were found, these facts leave little doubt that there were objects of some cult-worship. One suggestion that has been made is that the ringstones were mace heads analogous to those fonnd in Mesopotamia; but a more probable explanation, in the opinion of the writer, is that they were yonis and that the 'chessmen'—like objects were lingas. The yoni and the linga are well-known emblems of Siva throughout the length and breadth of India and there can be no question that the cult is one of the most ancient in the land, going back to a time long before the advent of the Aryans"[46].

To return to South India; it may be mentioned that Śiva is in poems of the first half-millennium A. D. described as residing in the banyan tree. Puṛam 199 talks of the banyan tree where the god resides[47]. Other poems distinctly refer to Śiva being the god of the banyan tree[48]; though these poems belong to the times when Aryan concepts had begun to enter Tamil poems, we may infer that the god in the post (Kandu) and the god in the banyan tree were the same and that as Śiva was not a regional god in the early ages of Tamil poetry

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[46] Sir John Marshall, Arch. Śur. of Ind. Ann. Rep. 1925-26, p. 79.

[47] கடவு ளாலம் l. 1.

ஆலமர் செல்வன், 'the Iśvara residing in the banyan tree' is mentioned in Śiṛupāṇāṟṟuppaḍai, l. 97, ஆல்கெழு கடவுள், 'the god in the banyan tree,' Tirumurugāṟṟuppaḍai, l. 256, ஆலமர் செல்வன், 'the Iśvara settled in the banyan tree,' Kalittogai, 81, l. 9, 83, l. 45

he was then a minor diety and rose to the position of the father of Murugan and ultimately the Great God when the Śaiva Āgama spread in the Tamil country in the V and VI centuries A. D. Rudra of North India was, in inception, a hill-god and married a hill-chieftain's daughter. He naturally became the god of Yogīs who resorted to the hills for the performance of their mystic exercises. When he migrated to South India, the Śiva cult had attained a high development. But before that event, he seems to have been in the Tamil country a banyan-tree god, as he appears to be in the earliest available references in Tamil poems. Perhaps a lingam was planted under the banyan tree; otherwise it is impossible to see how he became the banyan-god. Lingams were placed before other trees as well, *e.g.*, the marudam, the jujube, the jambolan, etc., and these became famous shrines after the V century when Śiva-worship began to prevail and Śiva-temples were built round these trees; these temples have now become some of the most famous Śaiva shrines of South India. The posts placed in temple-huts were also most probably intended to stand for lingams, and, having been cut from holy tress, possessed the holiness of both the tree and the lingam-shape.

Rise of Towns:

Towns first arose as the result of the barter of the products of one tract with those of another. The salt of the coastal region was a necessity in every other region; so from very early days strings of rickety carts passed along the mud-made roads carrying salt (and also dried fish) into the interior right up to the hill country, and salt carts and salt sellers are frequently referred to by poets. Thus " the lord of the crowd of

salt-sellers who appears on the hill" is addressed in Agam[49]. In the same poem is referred to the hearth made of three stones made by the salt-vendors when they travelled in the desert country[50]. To judge from the descriptions in the poems, very heavy bandy loads were thus transported. A king is compared to the strong bull which drags with strength out of holes in the road (in which had sunk) the many-felloed cart which carries to the hill-country the salt which grows from sea water[51]. The carts were so heavily laden that the cart had to be provided with an additional axle tree, called the 'protecting axle-tree' (sēmavaccu). "The bulls are young and have not been broken to the yoke. The cart is overladen with articles of merchandize; so the salt-vendors have fixed the 'protecting axle-tree' below the (original) wooden one so that the cart may go uphill and downhill without disaster"[52]. The strings of carts always attracted the interest of young folk. "Girls on whose forelap waved the leaf-girdle made of

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49 குன்றிற் றோன்றுங் குவவுமணற் சேர்ப்ப

Ib. 310, l. 10.

50 உமண்சாத் திறந்த வொழிக லடுப்பு.

Ib. 119, l. 8.

51 கழியுப்பு முகந்து கன்னாடு மடுக்கு
மாரைச் சாகாட் டாழ்ச்சி போக்கு
முரணுடை நோன்பகட் டன்ன வெங்கோன்.

Pur. 55, ll. 6—9.

52 எருதே யிளைய நுகமுண ராவே
சகடம் பண்டம் பெரிதுபெய் தன்றே
யவலிழியினு மிசை யேறினு
மவண தறியுநர் யாரென வுமணர்
கீழ்மரத் தியாத்த சேம வச்சு.

Pur. 102, ll. 1-5.

fully blown whole flowers of the water-lily which grows in the sweet spring on large hills and who have fair, cool eyes, and sweet smiles, mount on a heap of palm leaves in the garden where the gourds (pīrkku and śurai) grow in the cotton-strewn front yard of a small house surrounded by a hedge of forked thorns on which straw was thrown. The girls keep counting the carts in which salt-vendors carry salt "[53].

If the transportation of salt was so heavy, we may well believe that other articles were carried on a much larger scale from region to region. Thus rice and cotton cloth were taken from the valleys to the drier region. The pulse and milk-products of mullai were taken to the region where wet-cultivation was carried on. The millets, honey and other hill products were carried to other regions. These articles were bartered in greatest quantities where the highlands (Mullai and Kuṛiñji) met the lowlands and the great centres of barter developed into towns.

Hence the first towns arose when the dry land (punśey) and the wet land (nansēy) met, i. e., at the junction where the river left its middle reaches and slowed down in the flat country. For this reason,

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[53] தீநீர்ப் பெருங்குண்டு சுனைப்பூத்த குவளைக்
கூம்பவிழ் முழுநெறி புரள்வரு மல்கு
லெந்தெழின் மழைக்க ணின்னகை மகளிர்
புன்மூசு கவலைய முண்மிடை வேலிப்
பஞ்சி முன்றிற் சிற்றி லாங்கட்
பீரை நாறிய சுரையிவர் மருங்கி
னீத்திலைக் குப்பை யேறி யுமண
ருப்பொ யொழுகை யெண்ணுப.

Puṛ. 116, ll. 1-8.

the earliest towns of the Tamil country were Uṛaiyūr, the capital of the Sōḻas, Karūr, the capital of the Śēras, and Madura, the capital of the Pāṇḍyas. These places are situated where the cotton of the cotton-growing localities could be brought down and woven into cloth, for the weaving of which these places were famous in old times, as they are today. The flourishing trade of these places enabled them to attain early the dignity of the capital towns of the Tamil kings. No description of these towns from early poems is available.

Chief seaports :

The great foreign trade of the Tamil country during this period brought about the existence of numerous seaports, such as were described in the next age by the author of the Periplus and by Ptolemy. From a story in the Bauddha Jātaka quoted in a previous chapter we learn the Kāviripaṭṭinam was the greatest seaport of the Sōḻas in the first millennium B. C., as well as their secondary capital. Koṛkai, called by Sanskrit writers, Pāṇḍya Kavāṭam, the gate-way of the Pāṇḍyas, for a long time, wrested from Madura the honour of being the Pāṇḍya capital and retained it till about the time of Ptolemy, the geographer, who says that the capital was recently shifted to Madura. Koṛkai's importance lay in the fact that it was the chief seat of the trade in pearls, so much prized by ancient peoples. The chief Śēra ports were Muśiṛi and Toṇḍi, from where pepper and other spices were exported to the countries of Western Asia, Egypt and beyond.

Kings :

Kings in those primitive days had little administrative functions. What little was required by way of

administration was discharged by village assemblies in accordance with hoary custom. The three kings Ṡōḻa, Ṡēra, and Pāṇḍya, no doubt warred on each other frequently, but wars were more for displaying personal prowess and acquiring the status of a senior Rāja than for purposes of acquisition of territory. The boundaries of the three states were fixed once for all and were not altered during the ages notwithstanding success in arms. The three kingdoms met at the common vertex of the three triangles, at the spot where the Amarāvati flows into the Kāviri. At that spot there is a small temple, dedicated to Ṡellāyi—the dear Goddess or the Goddess of fortune—who enjoyed the devotion of all the three Rājas and the spot where it stands was a kind of undisputed no-man's land. A small river, which falls into the Kāviri there, and has the significant name of Karaipōṭṭāṉāṟu, the river that marks the bundary, separated the Ṡēra dominions which extended to the west coast, from the Ṡōḻa territory which extended to the Bay of Bengal[52]. An artificial mound on the other bank of the Kāviri, traces of which still remain, marked the boundary between the Ṡōḻa and the Pāṇḍya kingdoms. The Ṡōḻa capital was Uṟaiyur down the river and the Ṡēra capital was Karūr up the river. The Pāṇḍya capital was Madura, to the South.

The chief function of kings was to protect the land from cattle-lifters Cattle was lifted either by predatory chieftains, the heads of Maṟavar or Kaḷḷar clans, or by

[52] This is perhaps the Kāriyāṟu on whose banks died Neḍuṅgiḷḷi, referred to in the colophon to Pur. 47, and also in Maṇ. xix. 126. In the latter passage a battle on the banks of the Kāri near the Ṡōḻa frontier is referred to.

neighbouring Rājas as a challenge to the Rāja of the country. In either case the king wore garlands, both his own characteristic garland, viz., of Ātti flowers in the case of the Śōḻa, the Margosa leaves, of the Pāṇḍya and the Palmyra leaves, of the Śēra, as well as the garlands of flowers symbolising the various stages of war. Besides protecting his subjects, the only other function of Rājas was to be surrounded by beggar-bards who eulogized them in their poems and were plied with food and drink as reward. The following poem, though of a later age, brings out these functions of royalty and is true of this age as of earlier and later ones. "Lord, whose bounty is never-ceasing and fights are terrible! your elephant looks like a hill. Lord, your army roars like the sea. Your sharp-pointed spear glitters like the lightning. Your prowess makes the heads of the kings of the world shake. This your faultless fame is nothing new....As the many rivers, which run down from the mountain, flow along the land turning towards the sea, so poets are turning to you "[55].

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[55] ஆனா வீகை யடுபோ ரண்ணனின்
யானையு மலையிற் றோன்றும் பெருமநின்
றானையுங் கடலென முழங்குங் கூர்நுனை
வேலு மின்னின் விளங்கு முலகத்
தரைசுதலை பனிக்கு மாற்றலை யாதலிற்
புரைதீர்ந் தன்றது புதுவதோ வன்றே
. . . .
மலையி னிழிந்து மாக்கட னோக்கி
நிலவரை யிழிதரும் பல்யாறு போலப்
புலவ ரெல்லா நின்னோக் கினரே.

Puṟ. 42 ll. 1—6, 18—20.

CHAPTER XIV

FOREIGN TRADE FROM 600 B. C. TO 14 A. D.

Under Darius:

In 606 B. C. the Assyrian Empire was overthrown and soon after Babylon became the head-quarters of trade in Asia. The trading nations of the world—Yavanas, Jews, Phoenicians, Indians, and Chinese—took their wares to the Babylonian markets and the people of Babylon became so mixed that Aeschylus called them pammikton hoclon.[1] There was soon established in that town a colony of South Indian merchants, which continued to flourish till the VII century A. D. Among the business tablets of the great firm of Murashu and sons at Nippur (in the V Century B. C.) we find records dealing with merchants.[2] In 538 B. C. Cyrus destroyed the Babylonion empire. His successor, the great Darius in the V century B. C. helped the development of sea-trade by partly reopening the Suez Canal which had been originally dug by one of the Sesostrises, about the XX Century B. C. and re-opened under the XVIII dynasty in the XV Century B. C. He added North Western India to his empire and this led to the revival of the ancient caravan trade across the Hindu Kush to Balkh and thence to the Euxine and that which skirted the Karmanian desert and thence went through Mesopotomia to Antioch. One important result of this was that silk first reached the West. " It has been supposed

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[1] ' A crowd of all (sorts of men) mixed up.'

[2] J. R. A. S. 1917, p. 237. (Kennedy)

that the Greeks learned of silk through Alexander's expedition but it probably reached them previously through Persia."[3] This land trade declined to some extent after Darius. Alexander, after conquering Egypt, founded the city of Alexandria, which became soon a great centre of trade between India and Europe. The great conqueror then sacked the city of Tyre and ruined its ancient trade. This dammed to some extent the flow of Indian trade to the West. After the death of Alexander anarchy reigned in Assyria; a new empire arose in Parthia; Scythian tribes began their raids on Bactria. These events led to the decline of the overland trade. Ptolemy I called Philadelphus (B. C. 285—246) strove to take advantage of it and develop the Red Sea trade to the advantage of Egypt. The Suez Canal was partially reopened and rendered available for commerce. Various caravan routes, provided with wells and stopping places, were opened between the Nile and the Red Sea. Ports were established where the routes terminated. Trade was limited to these ports and supervised by Government officials who levied duties. Egypt to some extent recovered her former wealth and glory. In the procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus were to be found Indian women, Indian hunting-dogs, Indian crows and Indian spices carried on camels.

Greek intermediaries : Consular Rome :

The Greeks were the greatest intermediaries of this trade of India with Europe, in the half-millennium that preceded the birth of Christ. One result of this extensive international commercial intercourse was that the Tamil names of South Indian articles of

[3] Schoff's Periplus, p. 264.

trade were borrowed by the Hellenes; they begin to appear in the works of Sophocles, Aristophanes, and others. They are Oryza from Tamil ariśi; Karpion from karuva, cinnamon; Ziggiberos from Tamil iñjivēr, (possibly through Sanskrit śṛṅgivera) ginger; peperi, from Tamil pippali, long pepper, since extended in the European languages to black pepper; beryllos from vaiḍūrya which was mined in ancient times in the Coimbatore district. The Romans of the earlier part of this age retained their original manly simplicity of life and did not yet hanker for luxuries. Hence Indian goods did not reach Rome in the early consular times. "What little trade there was, was not bought with Roman money, for Indian imports of that time did not include Roman specie. . . . Trade there may have been, probably was, along the old routes that had existed for hundreds of years; but Rome did not spread eastwards till the later years of the Consulate; Palmyra had not then opened its doors to adventurous Roman merchants. . . . . Though Alexandria was taken by Julius Caesar in B. C. 47, the sea-borne trade must have been small in those days and very uncertain, being conveyed as it was in Arab boats along a coast infested with pirates. Whatever exports found their way to Europe from India at that period went probably to Greece rather than to Rome."[4] These conclusions of Sewell's are based on the fact that very few consular coins have been unearthed so far in India.

Towards the end of this period, "successive conquests and spoliation of all the Mediterranean peoples had brought to Rome treasures as yet unexampled

[4] J.R.A.S. 1904, p. 593-594. (Sewell)

and a taste for the precious things of the East was developed almost overnight. The public triumphs of the conquerors of Asia Minor and Syria glittered with new treasures, for which the people clamoured."[5] "The old frugal austerity had long given way before the attractions of luxury and wares of the far East were reaching Rome in some quantity at the end of the second century before Christ."[6]

In the beginning of the Empire:

Augustus conquered Egypt in 30 B. C. and he tried to develop a direct sea-trade between India and the Roman Empire. Strabo says that he saw in 25 B. C. about 120 ships sailing from Hormus to India.[7] Embasies went to him "from several Indian states, for Augustus himself says that Indian embassies came frequently."[8] Warmington thinks the Śēra, the Pāṇḍya, and the Sōḷa monarchs of the time, each, sent separate embassies[9]. This led to the volume of India's trade with Rome in the time of Augustus expanding to huge proportions. About this trade Warmington remarks, "when we examine the volume of trade between Rome and India, even at its real beginning under Augustus, we are confronted at once with a phenomenon which has always been characteristic of commerce between England and India. From the very start the Roman empire was unable to counterbalance the inflow of Indian products by a return of imperial

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5 Schoff's Periplus, p. 5.
6 Warmington, op. cit., p. 4.
7 MCrindle, Anc. Ind. p. 6.
8 Warmington, op. cit., p. 35.
9 Ib. p. 37.

products, with the result that the Romans sent out coined money which never returned to them."[10] Apparently at first a fraud was attempted to be made in the matter of the exportation of coined money, for, "of Augustus' coins a type showing Gaius and Lucius, his adopted sons, has turned up in numbers in India and these coins are nearly always plated. Ernst therefore thinks that they were struck especially for trade with South India where the natives (it was thought) could not as yet distinguish good Roman coins from bad."[11] But the Tamils proved to be too shrewd, for the silly experiment was not repeated. What were the articles exported to the west in this epoch?

Export of living animals:

"The Indians of old transported living animals by sea to the Persian Gulf and to Africa and China and were probably responsible for sending Ptolemy II his peacocks and parrots." The tiger presented by Seleucus to Athens and the lions exhibited by Sulla and Pompey, the one-horned rhinoceros exhibited by the latter, and the tiger shown by Augustus in a cage or a den when the theatre at Marcellus was dedicated, were animals, some north Indian and others South Indian, sent by the land-route; but the monkeys which several Greek writers have written about could have gone by sea[12]. "The Indian elephant which was used frequently in war since Alexander's conquests, was first introduced to the Romans when Pyrrhus transported some from Epiros to Italy in 28 B. C. Whether the

[10] Ib. p. 38.
[11] Ib p. 139.
[12] Ib. pp. 147-8, 151.

Carthaginians used them together with the African species, and employed Indian mahouts to train both kinds, I am not certain. But it is to be noticed that Hasdrubal at Panormos in 25, used elephants driven by 'Indians'; So did Hannibal and Hasdrubal during the second Punic war with Rome; and at the battle of Rapia Ptolemy's Libyan beasts could not stand against the Indian troop of Antiochos."[13]

Indian hounds were much valued by foreigners. "According to Horodotos, the Persians of his time caused the supplies of four large villages in the plains round Babylon to be appropriated for the feeding of Indian hounds; Ctesias also notices the Indian hounds of the Persians, and similar dogs were shown in the processions of Ptolemy Philadelphus. We have also a papyrus of the third century B. C. on which are two separate epitaph-poems written for Tauron, which had given its life in saving its master in a fight with a wild boar".[14] South Indian hunting dogs were well-known for their ferocity. They were usually described as kadanāy, the fierce hound,[15] and were kept enchained[16].

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[13] Ib. p. 151.

[14] Ib. p. 149.

[15] Agam, 107. 1. 11.

[16] *தொடர்படு ஞமலி*, Puṛ 74. 1. 3., *தொடர்நா யாத்த துன்னருங் கடிநகர்*, 'the well-guarded, inaccessible place where hounds were kept,' Perumb, l. 126. The South Indian hounds were so highly regarded that a king who went straight against his foe was compared by a poet to the hound which rushes on game, *சென்ற பன்ன கருவிற் சுற்றமொடு கேளாமன்னர் கடிபுலம் புக்கு*, Perumb, ll. 139-140. For the use of hounds in boar-hun-

The hunter is described as residing in the forests and as possessing ferocious hounds [17] which scatter herds of deer and run with great speed.[18]. The chief of the hunt blew his horn to summon his hunters and hounds to the rendezvous after being separated from them in the bamboo-forest.[19]

The export of parrots and peacocks which began in an earlier epoch, no doubt continued in this. Serpents including the cobra called Aspis by the Greeks and the

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ting, Vide Naṟṟiṇai, which says, 'In the path thickly grown with tall nāga trees, the small-eyed fierce boar rolls in the mud till its black back is fully stained; it then falls on the trap which consists of a half sawn tree trunk to which a loose loop is tied. It is caught in the split trunk; then hounds swarm and kill it and tear its flesh. The foresters beat them off and take the meat home.'

போகிய நாகப் போக்கருங் கவலைச்
சிறுகட் பன்றிப் பெருஞ்சின வொருத்தல்
சேறா டிரும்புற நீறொடு சிவண
வெள்வசிப் படீஇயர் மொய்த்த வள்பழீஇக்
கோணாய் கொண்ட கொள்ளைக்
கானவர் பெயர்க்கும்.

Naṟ. 82. ll. 6-11.

17 கானுறை வாழ்க்கைக் கதநாய் வேட்டுவன், Puṟ 33, l. 1.

18 மான்கணந் தொலைச்சிய கடுவிசைக் கதநாய்........ வேட்டுவன் Puṟ 205. ll. 8-9.

19 ஊதல் வேண்டுமாற் சிறிதே வேட்டொடு
வேப்பயி லழுவத்துப் பிரிந்தநின்
னாய்பயிர் குறிநிலை கொண்ட கோடே.

Agam, 318, ll. 13—15.

python were others of the living animals exported. Strabo saw in Egypt a serpent nine feet long brought from India.[20]

Animal products:

One of the most important articles exported from India was ivory. The Greeks at the height of their culture used it for the exposed parts of the body in statues.[21] Pearls were first "introduced into Rome during the Jugurthine war and made popular by the large quantities brought back to Italy by Pompey"; they "became common at the fall of the republic when Augustus brought back the treasures of the Ptolemies." In the "time of Cicero when pearls were scarce, one valued at eight thousand pounds in modern money was taken from the ear of Metella and deliberately swallowed by the son of Aesopus that he might have the satisfaction of swallowing a huge sum of money at a draught."[22] It is also well-known that Cleopatra dissolved pearls in her wine before drinking it. Lac-dyed cottons were sent to Persia; "Ctesias records that to the Persian king in his time were sent fine fabrics dyed with a colour obtained by the Indians from very red beetles.[23] Silk reached the Mediterranean coast through the Empires of Darius and Xerxes, for the Egyptian records do not mention it. Aristotle gives a correct account of its production. Raw silk was imported on bobbins, before Aristole's time. At Tyre

[20] Warmington, op cit. p. 157.

[21] Ib. p 163.

[22] Ib. 163-9.

[23] Ib. 178.

and other places was woven a transparent gauze, which when made into garments. according to Pliny, 'while they cover a woman, at the same time reveal her naked charms.'[24] Among Greek and Roman writers there was some confusion between cotton and silk, both being called " tree-wool."

Vegetable products :

Besides Indian cloth largely imported by Palestine. Indian cotton was taken to Egypt " where the emperors possessed imperial weaving and dying factories, some worked by the priests." The Egyptians mixed cotton and linen, and wove clothes, the woof being of cotton and the warp of linen. Indian cotton was also used in Egypt for various sacred purposes. Many-coloured cotton fabrics have been found near Memphis at Panoplis and some of the fabrics contain Indian elements in their design.[25]

There is some reason for supposing that pepper was the spice more especially in demand in Babylonia and Persian Gulf trade generally, just as cinnamon was that more especially reserved for Egypt ; and that the most active demand for it came with the extension of the Persian empire under Darius. The trade was by sea (and carried in South Indian ships) and not overland ; Herodotus knew the Dravidians (III. 100) only as having 'a complexion closely resembling the Aethiopians,' and as being 'situated very far from the Persians, towards the South, and never subject to Darius'.[26] The land-trade across Parthia and the sea-trade encour-

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[24] Schoff's Periplus, pp. 264-265.

[25] Warmington, op. cit. p. 212.

[26] Schoff's Periplus, p. 213.

aged by the Ptolemies led to a great increase of the trade in aromatics and spices, which had already existed for untold centuries. The Phoenicians and Carthaginians, supplied pepper to Rome in this age. By the Greeks it was used chiefly as medicine, for Hippocrates, (V Century B. C.) who used many Indian recipes calls pepper the "Indian remedy"[27]; it was used for agues and fevers. Herodotus has no bit of folk lore to attach to it. Theophrastus, indeed, in the IV century B. C., knows it as a medicine, and Dioscorides distinguishes between black, white and long pepper.[28] Ginger also reached the west and was used medicinally. But it was carried by Arabian intermediaries who successfully prevented the Westerners from knowing that it was an Indian product.[29] "Gingelly-oil was well-known to the Greeks of the V century B.C. and perhaps before" and was sent from India. "It became of considerable importance during the period of the Ptolemies".[30] Cocoanuts seem also to have been sent to Greece for they were kept in Greek temples as curiosities.[31] Sophocles speaks of rice-cakes; so, the Greeks got the grain and its name from the Tamil country. Timber was also exported for various purposes. Pompey exhibited Indian ebony at his triumph over Mithridates. The trade in Indian ebony was of long standing and this and other timber was taken by the Indian merchants to the Persian Gulf. Ebony was used for furniture and

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27 Warmington, op cit. p. 182.

28 Schoff's Periplus, p. 213.

29 Warmington, op. cit. 184.

30 Ib. p. 206.

31 Ib. p. 217.

32 Ib. p. 219.

statuary. "In the Persian Gulf, shews Theophrastos, men built ships of teak-wood of India, particularly of Malabar, Canara, Travancore," and other places.[33] The boats of the Arabians, called "sewn boats, known as madarata" were fastened with palm fibre, "*i.e.* fibre taken from the husks of the cocoanut."[34] In this period Indian stone of various kinds began to be exported to the west, but this trade assumed great proportions only in the next period.

An Indian cult in Armenia:

One curious result of this trade with Western Asia may here be described. It was the introduction of an Indian cult in Armenia. In the time of the first Arsacide monarch of Armenia, Vaḷarsbak, (149-127 B.C.) two Indian chiefs established a colony at Vishap on the Western Euphrates, west of lake Van and founded temples for the worship of Gisani (Kiṣṇa) and Demeter (Baladeva). Was this an outflow of Aryan culture from the North of India? Most probably no, for while the Puranas talk of Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva as being avatāras of Viṣṇu, there is little or no evidence of the existence of the joint worship of these two Gods as a separate cult in North India at any time; but early Tamii literature gives plenty of evidence of this. The former of these, under the name of Māyōn was the ancient God of the Mullai land and the latter, Vāliyōn or Veḷḷaiyōn, the White God, whose implement was the plough and flag was the palmyra, was probably in origin the God of the region between Mullai and Marudam where agriculture first began. The contrast between the black hue of the former and the white hue of the latter was a

[33] Ib. pp. 213-4.

[34] Schoff's Periplus, p. 154.

favourite image with Tamil poets. Thus, they are described as "he who carries the death-desiring plough and has the palmyra-flag and whose colour is like that of the convoluted chank-shell which grows in the sea, and he who desires victory, has a bird-flag raised aloft to the sky, and whose colour is like that of the fair sapphire well-washed."[35] Again they are called, "the possessor of the palmyra-flag whose complexion is like milk and of the wielder of the discus who is blue."[36] Baladeva was always intoxicated with the juice of the palmyra, which was appropriate to his rise in the palmyra region. The cult of Baladeva could not have been evolved in the Gangetic valley ; for the palms do not flourish there and his worship must have risen in the Southern lower river-valleys not far from the sea.

We do not hear of temples dedicated to Baladeva in North India. But they existed in Kāvirippaṭṭinam and

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[35] கடல் வளர் புரிவளை புரையு மேனி
யடல்வெந் நாஞ்சிற் பனைக்கொடி யோனு
மண்ணுறு திரும்ணி புரையு மேனி
விண்ணுயர் புட்கொடி விறல்வெய் யோனும்.

Puṛ. 56. ll. 3-6.

[36] வானிற வுருவிற் பனைக்கொடி யோனு
நீனிற வுருவி னேமி யோனும்.

Puṛ. 58. ll. 14-15.

The contrast of colour between these two is frequently used in similes, e.g., Naṛ. 32, ll. 1-2 Cintāmaṇi, 209. It cannot be contended that these two were first introduced to South India as avatāras of Viṣṇu, for other incarnations (except Rāma) are not referred to in early Tamil literature.

in Madura side by side with temples to Kṛṣṇa.[37] Besides these there were temples where the images of Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva stood together. One such, that of Tirumāliruñjōlai not far from Madura, is described elaborately in No. 15 of the Parīpāḍal collection. Thepoem is too long for quotation: besides it belongs to a later period than that we are dealing with here. The image of Baladeva described in this poem has disappeared now. Probably the temple was destroyed and rebuilt in later times when Baladeva had sunk to an inferior position in

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[37] வால்வளை மேனி வாலியோன் கோயிலும்
நீலமேனி நெடியோன் கோயிலும். Śil. v, ll. 71-2.

'The temple of Baladeva who is white like the convoluted chank-shell and the temple of the great god whose colour is blue.'

புகர் வெள்ளை நாகர்தங் கோட்டம். ib. ix. p. 10. 'the temple of the beautiful god, the white Nāga.' Baladeva, being an incarnation of the divine serpent, was apparently taken into the cult of Viṣṇu, when it absorbed the Nāgas into its fold. These temples were in Pugār. In Madura was மேழி வலனுயர்த்த வெள்ளை நகரமும், Ib. l-9. "The temple of Baladeva who strongly raised the plough (as his weapon).' These quotations are from poems of a later date but yet the absence of Baladeva temples in the North raises the presumption that the white god first rose in the south. The names Veḷḷaiyan and Veḷḷan are very common in the Tamil country even to-day in certain castes; this name must have come down from the times when the white god was worshipped and his name given to the children of his devotees.

the estimation of Vaiṣṇava devotees. In a very few temples now living, the image of Baladeva still stands. Perhaps these temples have escaped the ravages of later enthusiasts.

Whether the joint-cult went to Armenia from North India or South India, it came to a voilent end. For St. Gregory, the Illuminator, in his zeal against Paganism led a band of Christians against the colony in the IV century A.D. In the fight that ensued the chief priests were slain, the idols broken, and the temples razed to the ground; churches were built and crosses set up where the gods stood. More than five thousand of the colonists became Christians and four hundred and thirty eight sons of priests and temple servants who remained obdurate had their heads shaved and were transported to a distant place. [38]

The trade of South India to the Far East led to the beginnings of emigration from India, which has continued to our own days. Says Col. Gerini "From several centuries before the Christian era a double stream of traders and adventurers began to flow into Indo-China from Northern and Southern India, reaching the upper parts of the Peninsula by land through Burma and its southern coast by sea, and founding there settlements and commercial stations."[39] The Āryas (Brāhmaṇas and Bauddhas) carried thither ancient Indian culture and the Tamils carried on trade. The Milinda Panha refers to a Takkola (Takkolam), outside the limits of Suvaṇṇabhūmi, i.e., near the Martaban, which was a great trading centre of early times. The

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38 J. R. A. S. 1904, p. 309-314. (Kennedy)

39 Vide J. R. A. S. 1904., p. 234-247, for a full account of this movement of ancient Indians.

name of this place reminds us of Takkolam, near Madras, where a great battle was fought in the X Century A. D.

The great Han Emperor of China, Wu-ti, drove the Hiung Nu, ancestors of the modern Turks, north of the Gobi desert and then the silk trade of China with Europe assumed great proportions. One of the routes taken by this trade was along the sea-coast of Tamil India where the Yavana merchants from the gulf of Suez got Chinese silk from Tamil intermediaries.

Trade with the countries to the coast of Burma, Malaya, and China also developed in this age. One important article that was sent to the East was pepper. " It may be surmised that a steady demand for pepper existed in China before it arose in Rome, and this was one reason for the sailing of the junks to the Malabar coast in the II century B. C. and probably earlier.[40] Besides pepper, incense was sent to the Far East and exchanged for silk and sugar.

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[40] Schoff's Periplus, pp. 213-214.

CHAPTER XV

THE FIRST INTRUSION OF SANSKRIT CULTURE INTO TAMIL LITERATURE.

The first intrusion of Sanskrit:

Sanskrit culture first began to affect Tamil literature when Agattiyanār composed his Tamil grammar. This person was probably a very late Agastya from the monastery of the Āgastyas settled on the Podiya hill, who was attracted more by the life of emotional experience stimulated by the study of the Tamil literature of the Pāṇḍya country than by the emotionless mystic contemplation practised in his hill sanctuary. In later legends he was assimilated with all the Agastyas that preceded him and the whole lot of them were rolled together into one Agastya Ṛṣi. The Agattiyanār of Tamil literature, if we may trust the legends that have gathered round his name, was a very human person, capable of insensate jealousy and uncontrollable anger. But legends apart, it is a fact that Agattiyanār made a careful investigation of the facts of Tamil speech, and framed a grammar of that tongue. In doing so, he assumed that the categories of Sanskrit grammar, for instance, the existence of seven or eight case-inflections of nouns, were true of all languages. The facts that the languages of the world belong to different families unrelated to one another and that one family utterly differs from another in essential structure and that, therefore, into the frame of the accidence of one language that of another cannot be squeezed, were

unknown to Agattiyanār. Sanskrit is a typical inflectional language with an elaborate scheme of accidence, but Tamil is an agglutinative language with a simple accidence; Tamil has a rigid syntax whereas in a Sanskrit sentence any word can occupy any position, because the syntactical relation of words to each other can be discovered by their inflections. These inflections of Sanskrit are made by working into words endings which have no independent existence as words and hence have no meanings themselves, but serve to indicate the relations of notional words to each other. In taking on such inflectional endings the root is changed into the base, and then the base undergoes profound and often internal changes; thus the base tad or tat, taking the termination am becomes tēṣām; one of the modifications of the verbal root han is jaghāna; of duḥ is addok. These are the marks of an inflectional language. Tamil, on the other hand, is an agglutinative language. Its so-called inflections are (1) whole words having an independent existence as words in that language, like ōḍu, poruṭṭu, adu, uḍaiya, iḍai, talai, tiśai and all other terminations of the so-called seventh case; Tamil grammarians significantly call these śollurubu, word-terminations, (2) slightly decayed words, like oḍu, il, ādu, a (for the so-called genetive plural, the decayed form of the plural pronoun avai), (3) two terminations which are so much decayed that the words of which they are the attrited forms cannot be discovered, e.g. ai, and ku; that even these two attrited forms have a semi-independent existence is shown by the fact that the plural sign intrudes between the noun and the case-sign, as in avargaḷukku, quite unlike how the oblique cases of nouns take the plural in Sanskrit.

Tamil and Sanskrit being so utterly unlike in structure, the categories of Sanskrit grammar cannot properly apply to Tamil grammar. But Agattiyanār assumed that the facts of Sanskrit speech ought to exist in Tamil also. So he assumed that there ought to be seven cases of nouns in Tamil as in Sanskrit; he translated the inflected Sanskrit nouns into Tamil phrases, cut up these phrases into two parts, i.e. the nominative forms of the nouns and what came after and treated the latter parts as Tamil case-inflections. Following Pāṇini he discovered or rather invented, seven cases in Tamil and his disciple, Tolkāppiyanār, following the Aindra, school of Sanskrit grammarians made it eight. Now if kādalipin may be a case of kādalı[1], why not kādaliyedir? At this rate Tamil nouns should have as many cases as there are adverbial and adjectival phrases derived from nouns in that language.

As he imported the seven cases of Sanskrit into Tamil, Agattiyanār is also responsible for importing the passive voice from Sanskrit. The passive is a definite inflection which all verbs, transitive or intransitive, undergo in Sanskrit. When transitive verbs become passive, it serves the purpose of making the object of the action the subject of the sentence, as when in English we say, 'the lion was killed.' This way of speaking is useful, when the subject of an action is not known or is not intended to be mentioned or when the object has to be emphasized. When intransitive verbs were given the passive inflection no such rational use can be found for it, but yet in Sanskrit the use of the passive intransitive is more idiomatic than

[1] Nannūl, Mayilainādar Urai, p. 189

that of the active, though no special meaning can be attached to the passive use; thus, saḥ bhavati is the same as tena bhūyate, only the latter cannot be translated into any other language, for 'he is been' is absurd even in English, though it is allied to Sanskrit. Agattiyanār imposed the passive construction on Tamil; even he could not transfer the passive intransitive into Tamil, though he could translate tāḍyate into aḍikkapaṭṭāṉ, agglutinating the verb paḍu, to the past participle of aḍi. Aḍikkappaḍu, if analysed into aḍikka, while *(another man)* beats, and paḍu, let *you* suffer, is seen to be opposed to the genius of Tamil, for compounding two verbs into one and assuming different persons to be the subjects of the two elements of the compound verb is violating both logic and grammar which is based on logic at least so far as Tamil is concerned. The true Tamil idiom for 'undergoing beating' is aḍi paḍu or aḍiyuṉ, where the first part of the compound is an abstract noun. Agattiyanār invented this passive, because it was necessary for translating the Sanskrit passive verbs into Tamil and it proved so useful for men who think in Sanskrit and write in Tamil that Agattiyanār's disciple, Tolkāppiyanār, begins his grammar with a pseudo-passive.[2] This pseudo-passive which no Tamil man ever uses in natural Tamil speech, but which was invented to enable Sanskritists to translate easily from Sanskrit into Tamil, has, in our days, become very fashionable in written Tamil, because we have learnt to think in English (which revels in passive forms) and write in Tamil. This barbarous form in paḍu mars every page of the Tamil

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[2] எழுத்தெனப்படுப. Tolkāppiayam i. 1. 1.

translation of the Bible, and unfortunately the Tamil composition of pandits.

These are some of the first intrusions of Sanskrit culture into Tamil. The next was the introduction of words, concepts, poetic imagery, tales, mythological and otherwise, beliefs, superstitions and scientific, moral and religious teaching, prosody, forms of poetry and so on, As time passed, the invasion of Sanskrit culture gathered so much volume that Tamil literature became entirely dominated by that of the Northerners so much that to the man used only to later Tamil literature, the older seems, on account of its language, devoid of Sanskrit terms and of its natural (instead of the later artificial) imagery, as strange as if it were an alien one,

Agattiyanār's grammar, called after him Agattiyam. is not extant now but the grammar composed by his pupil, Tṛṇadhūmāgni, son of a Jamadagni, more familiarly known as Tolkāppiyanār, is still extant. It is professedly based on the Agattiyam. The speciality of these Tamil grammars is that they deal not only with phonetics, accidence and prosody, but also with the subject-matter of poetry. These Brāhmaṇa authors found that Tamil poetry was so utterly different from Sanskrit poetry in subject-matter and literary conventions that they thought it necessary to include in their grammar a discussion of these subjects also. The later chapters of the Tolkāppiyam, as Tṛṇadhūmāgni's book is called, after the Tamil name of the author, deal with every kind of incident in the course of love and war, (Agam and Puṟam) about which alone the ancient Tamil poets sang in their peculiar way. From the latter part of the Tolkāppiyam, called Poruḷadigāram, can be

constructed a full picture of the type of life led by the Tamil people long before they came into intimate contact with the Aryans and of Tamil literature before the Tamil mind was subjugated by Sanskrit literature.

Such a picture would be complementary to that which I have given in my Pre Aryan Tamil Culture and is given in my forthcoming book on the Ancient Tamils as depicted in the Poruḷadigāram of the Tolkāppiyam.

Intrusion of Aryan ideas in Poruḷadigāram.

Not that Tolkāppiyanār rises above the temptation of importing Aryan ideas into his grammar of Tamil poetry. He does strictly follow the Tamil poems, extant in his time and now all but extinct, in describing the conventions of anicent Tamil poetry. But often he is oppressed by his knowledge of Sanskrit literature and his belief that the Aryan social polity and religious system were divinely appointed ones. Thus to Tolkāppiyanār the ideal social organisation was the division of people into four varṇas, with the three higher enjoying besides social privileges, the literary privilege of being heroes of poems. But in the Tamil poetry which he studied, he found that chiefs of hunting and fishing tribes, very low persons in the Aryan scheme, were the heroes of love-poems. His attempts to explain this anomaly are lame and hesitating. Again there were eight recognized forms of marriage in the Laws of the Āryas, and but only two in Tamil poems. He tries unsuccessfully to equate the two systems. He tries, again, to fit the Tamil scheme of life whose interests were only love and war, with the Aryan one which has as aims Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa, though Tamil Agam is a mider concept than Kāma, and

Dharma, Artha and Mōkṣa cannot be squeezed into Puṟam, as many latter-day commentators have also vainly attempted to do. Tolkāppiyanār, again, describes forms of literature in the last chapter of Poruḷadigāram, e.g. sūtras, which did not exist in his time in Tamil, but of which there were many Sanskrit examples known to him. In this and other cases he imposes on his grammar of Tamil poetry what did not belong to it and it is not surprising that wherever Tolkāppiyanār does so, his commentators are not able to give illustrations of his rules from Tamil literature. Two other Aryan ideas Tolkāppiyanār forces in Tamil will be mentioned presently when his date is discussed.

The entry of Sanskrit words into Tamil:

Agattiyanār and Tolkāppiyanār introduced into Tamil a few tadbhavas, i.e. Sanskrit words which have been fitted into the phonetic framework of Tamil. They are found in the few śūttirams of Agattiyam that are quoted in the commentaries of the mediæval age and in the grammar of Tolkāppiyanār, but Agattiyanār respected the genius of Tamil sufficiently, to invent Tamil words for most of the technical terms of grammar. The percentage of words borrowed from Sanskrit is few or nil in the earliest extant poems, but goes on gradually increasing as time passes; so much so that the percentage of Sanskrit words in a poem may be taken to be roughly indicative of its age. Though thus Sanskrit words got in more and more into Tamil, the conventions of Tamil literature, which form the subject of the greater part of the Poruḷadigāram of the Tolkāppiyam, were adhered to till the VI century A. D.

The Age of Agattiyanār:

What was the age of Agattiyanār and his disciple Tolkāppiyanār? Agattiyanār's grammar is not now extant, but Tolkppiyanār quotes him frequently; wherever in the latter the word 'enba', 'says (he)' occurs it is invariably explained by the commentators as 'says (the teacher)'. Tolkāppiyanār begins his grammar with the statement, "what are called 'eḻuttu' are, says the teacher, thirty beginning with 'a' and ending with 'na'."[3] Hence we may presume that Agattiyanār began his grammar with enumerating Tamil letters as thirty. The word eḻuttu is used in a peculiar sense by Tamil grammarians. It names a concept which includes the sound of a unit syllable, and the sign that represents it. The former is called olivaḍiveḻuttu, the eḻuttu that has the form of a sound and the latter varivaḍiveḻuttu, the eḻuttu that has the form of a figure made of (straight or curved) lines, (the figure being not necessarily a closed one). It is impossible to translate the word eḻuttu into English, because there is no word in that language covering both concepts, letter and sound. The word akṣara is also used by the Sanskritists in this double sense; but the Tamil word eḻuttu is not a translation of the word akṣara, the latter word having reference to the Mīmāmsaka and Vaiyākarṇika theories of the eternity of sound conceived as the etheric (ākāśa) substrate of the vibrations of air which produce audible sound.

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3 எழுத்தெனப் படுப
அகரமுத
னகர விறுவாய் முப்பஃ தென்ப.

Tol. I. i. 1.

As Agattiyanār treats of Tamil letters, Tamil writing must have existed in his time. We know that the Tamil alphabet, like every alphabet now current in India, except the Arabic alphabet used for Urdu, was evolved from the Aśokan script to which the name Brāhmī has been given. In the cave inscriptions of the Pāṇḍyan country we have examples of the earliest specimens, so far found, of Tamil words committed to writing. These inscriptions were incised at the instance of Jaina or Bauddha monks who resided in the natural caves of the Tamil country, far from the madding crowd, in peaceful contemplation calculated to lead them to the eternal bliss of Nirvāṇa. These inscriptions are not only the earliest specimens of Tamil writing we have, but the first tentative attempts to adapt the letters of the Brāhmī, or more correctly the South Maurya script, to the writing of Tamil. They do not distinguish between the pure consonant and the same followed by 'a' to become an easily pronounceable syllable[4] i.e., the dot on the top of a consonant had not yet been invented; but they possess signs for the consonant sounds peculiar to Tamil, like 'ḻ' the retroflex rolled sound, 'ṟ' which when doubled is sounded 'ṭr' and when preceded by the nasal becomes 'ḍr,' and the two-looped 'n' which alone indicated the nasal which precedes 'ṟ' and is, in modern pronunciation, indistinguishable from the dental nasal. Thus so far as the available evidence goes, Tamil was first committed to writing late in the III century or early in the II century B. C., by foreign emigrants who were inveterate makers of stone inscrip-

[4] As Tolkappiayanār has said, மெய்யி னியக்க மகரமொடு சிவணும். 'Consonants are pronounced when accompanied by the sound a.' Tolkāppiyam I. ii. 13.

tions. The non-existence of a separate alphabet for writing Tamil literature was why Tamil poetry, which must have been composed in large quantities long before the Christian era, has irrecoverably perished. I therefore hold that Agattiyanār could not have lived before the I century B. C., when Tamil writing must have begun to be commonly used. A study of the Tolkāppiyam compels us to believe that master and pupil must have lived, a century or more, later. Tolkāppiyanār uses the word ōrai in the sense of an hour (auspicious for marital and other pleasant purposes) [5]. The Tamil word ōrai, like the English word hour, is derived ultimately from the Greek word hora. Hora meant in Greek in the V century B. C. 'season in general' and it was in the II century B. C. that it was endowed with the meaning of the twenty-fourth part of a day, each such twenty-fourth part being under the rule of one of the seven planets. The word hora travelled with its astrological implications to Gāndhāra which was ruled in the second and first centuries B. C. by Greek monarchs. From there it got into Sanskrit, when Sanskrit authors learnt Greek astrology. It then travelled down South and entered Tamil. Surely it will be a modest estimate if we assume that ōrai could not have got into Tamil before the I century A.D., which must be the upper limit of the age of Tolkāppiyanār. Only we must remember that though Tolkāppiyanār uses the word ōrai in his grammar, the bulk of the Tamils, I mean, those

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[5] மறைந்த வொழுக்கத் தோரையு நாளும்
திறந்த வொழுக்கங் கிழவோர்க் கில்லை.

'The rule that love passages ought to be given up on (unauspicious) hours and days does not apply to the hero of secret love.' Tol. III, iii. 44.

who were not Brāhmaṇas, were dominated by Aryan culture and therefore could have acquired a knowledge of, or belief in, planetary astrology, at a much later date than the age of Tolkāppiyanār. Connected with this astrology is the question of the week of seven days, each day being named after the planet who ruled the first hour of the day; hence the planetary names of the days of the week do not appear in Tamil poems till the end of the V century A.D.

There is another fact derived from the Poruḷadigāram of the Tolkāppiyam which can serve to fix the date of Tolkāppiyanār. Chief among the Pāṅgar, companions of a chief and his helpers in his love-campaigns, Tolkāppiyanār names the pārppār, Brāhmaṇas.[6] Thus Tolkāppiyanār contemplates the employment of Brāhmaṇas as chief ministers of Love. This was a convention of the Sanskrit Drama; and I take it that Tolkāppiyanār refers to it as a matter of theory and not as one of fact, for we do not find any allusion to it in Agam or in Puṟam. The word pārppar[7] occurs four times in Puṟam; there are ten other references to andaṇar or to their lore. But these allude to their vedic scholarship, their sacrificial

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6 Tol. III, vii. 189, 190, 197.

7 பார்ப்பார்த் தப்பிய கொடுமை, 'the cruel deed of harssing a Brāhmaṇa, Puṟ. 34, l. 3, பார்ப்பார் நோவன, 'what pain Brāhmaṇas', Ib. 43. l. 14.

பார்ப்பார்க் கீர்ங்கை நிறைய, 'so as to fill the wet hands of Brahmaṇas, Ib. 367. l. 1.

ஆனியற் பார்ப்பன மாக்களும், 'Brāhmaṇas, of the same nature as cows,' Pur. 9, l. 1. The other references are, Pur. 2. l. 32, 6. l. 20, 9. l. 1, 26, l. 13. 93, l. 7, 126. l. 11, 200, l. 14, 224, l. 9, 361, l. 4, 262, l. 8.

fire, the gifts received by them, but not to their services as gobetweens. There is one reference in Agam[8] to a pārppān who does not perform sacrifices and another to a Brāhmaṇa messenger set on by thieves and one in Kuṟundogai[9] to his appurtenances as a bachelor, but none to his function as minister of Love. As Tolkāppiyanār has transferred this convention from Sanskrit drama to Tamil poetry, he must have lived sometime after the formal drama was devoloped in Sanskrit. Bhāsa is our earliest Sanskrit poet and he can not belong to an age earlier than the III century B.C.; and it must have taken some time for the literary convention of the Sanskrit drama to reach South India, to enable Tolkappiyanār to include it in his grammar.

The contribution of Agattiyanār to the growth of Tamil culture consisting as it did of pioneer work, withal perfect, on its grammar, rhetoric and poetics was a remarkable performance. But ancient legendmakers and modern historical investigators have attempted to paint the lily by attributing to him marvellous performances. Thus Tamil legend says that he learnt Tamil from Śiva or Subrahmaṇya and taught the language to the Tamil people, who were, I suppose, dumb till Agastya appeared in their midst. D. R. Bhandarkar says that Agastya penetrated "farther and farther into the hitherto unknown South and civilizing

[8] வேளாப் பார்ப்பான். Agam, 24. l. 1. தூதொய்ப் பார்ப்பான்....

தடிந்துடன் வீழ்த்த கடுங்கண் மழவர்.

Ib. 337, l. 7, 11.

These poems are all by the latest of poets of the period.

[9] Kuṟundogai, 156.

the Dravidians."[10] T. R. Ramakrishna Sastri, speaks of Agastya's reformation and reorganization of the social and literary life of the Tamils.[11] All this is pure myth. Agastya found a fully developed literature with literary conventions of its own, unalterable because they were based on the conditions of the environment in which the people lived and grew; he also found a language with a perfected literary dialect and he wrote out the grammar of that language and that literature, and no more.

There must have been numerous poets before the time of Agastya for he could not otherwise have composed a grammar of poetry, not to speak of the grammar of Śendamiḻ, the refined literary dialect. The momentum gathered by the poems of the Puṟam and Agam class (Puṟattiṇai and Agattiṇai) during the ages which intervened between the rise of Tamil poetry and the period of Agattiyanār, carried on that class of literature to five centuries after his time, when the old literature began collapse and a new Tamil literature inspired by the Sanskrit muse was born and largely eclipsed the older fashion of poems. Later legend said that Agattiyanār invented Tamil; there is this kernel of truth in this legend that later Tamil literature was the ultimate result of the intrusion of Aryan literature into Tamil under the auspices of this first grammarian of the language. Therefore one would expect that Tamil would make a big contribution to the store of Agastya

[10] Carmichael Lectures, 1918, p. 18.

[11] Proceedings and Transactions of the Third Oriental Conference, 1924, p. 205.

legends. But it is disappointing to find that the Tamil contribution of Agastya legends is very poor. In the Kuṛundogai and the Naṛṛiṇai, I have not been able to find any. In the Puṛam there is one reference to Podiya hill as the seat of the performers of the Vedic yajñas. That is an allusion to the light of the triple fire on the gold-topped Himalayas and the Podiya[12]. No reference to the Podiya hill in the Agam and the Puṛam alludes to Agastya, the hill being described in seven passages merely as belonging to the Pāṇḍya. This is probably due to the fact that as the age of Agattiyanār was very near to that of the earlier poems of the four early anthologies, they regarded him but as a mere man, and a grammarian, and not a Ṛṣi.

A passage in Maduraikkāñji, a long poem in praise of the Pāṇḍya Neḍuñjeḷiyan by his favourite poet, Māṅguḍi Marudanār, (c. 450 A. D.) has been tortured by the commentator Naccinārkkiniyar, into a reference to Agastya. The passage is an address to Neḍuñjeḷiyan and says, "Lord of the hill from whose side rivulets run! You desire to be next to the ancient God, inaccessible and strong, who removed the Southerner."[13] The passage is obscure. If the Southerner meant Rāvaṇa, it might mean that Neḍuñjeḷiyan desired to be next only to Rāma; but there is only one other passage and that in a very late poem where Rāvaṇa is called

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[12] முத்தீ விளக்கிற் றுஞ்சும்
பொற்கோட் டிமயமும் பொதியமும் போன்றே.
Puṛam. 2, 23—24.

[13] தென்னவற் பெயரிய துன்னருந் துப்பிற்
தொன்முது கடவுட் பின்னர் மேய
வரைத்தா ழருவிப் பொருப்பிற் பொருந.
Maduraikkāñji, ll. 40—42.

'Southerner.[14] The word 'Tennavan' was the usual title of the Pāṇḍya kings. If the poem had been written in the VI century A. D. by which time Aryan mythology had overspread the Tamil land, it might be made to mean that Neḍuñjeḻiyan wanted to be next to Śiva who had defeated Yama, the Lord of the South; but we cannot be sure that this feat of Śiva was widely known in Madura in Neḍuñjeḻiyan's time. Both the explanations offered above are fanciful; but the commentator's explanation is very much worse. He makes 'Tennavan' refer to Rāvaṇa and interprets Kaḍavuḷ, God, as Agastya, twisting as he does often the order of the words to suit his interpretation, and says that Agastya removed Rāvaṇa from the lordship over the Tamil country. He quotes as his authority "the Scholiast" on Tolkāppiyam viz., Iḷambūraṇar, who says that Agastya "bound Rāvaṇa by his music." Naccinārkkiniyar's interpretation is outrageously bad and Maduraikkāñji does not refer to Agastya at all.

The Śilappadigāram is a poem belonging to the age (VI cent. A.D.) when old Tamil mythology and Aryan mythology, old Tamil customs and Aryan ones had begun to mix with each other, though they had not yet become welded into a homogeneous whole. Even this poem does not help much in tracing the origin of the myth of Agastya inventing or teaching the Tamil language for the first time to men. This poem, besides referring to Agastya's curse of Jayanta, son of Indra, and a celestial damsel, has only one other reference to

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[14] Vide Mahāmahopādhyāya V. Swaminatha Aiyar's note in p. 245 of his edition of Pattuppāṭṭu. (second edition).

Agastya. And that is the bare mention of Agastya's hill, which a Brāhmaṇa pilgrim, by name, Māḍalan, circumambulated in the way of the sun before bathing in the sea near Cape Comorin [15].

The next great epic, Maṇimēgalai, though it has been held to be contemporary with the former epic, yet deals with an age when the old Tamil literary tradition had been completely ousted out of Tamil literature, by that of Sanskrit literature, when the life of the people had been entirely brought under Aryan influence and when Sanskrit proper names of men had displaced Tamil ones. But even this poem, has but a few Agastya legends. One of them refers to the Lady Kāveri, who was born from the upsetting of the water-pot of Agastya, the Muni of the Gods, at the request of a Śōḻa king, Kāndaman [16], who desired water. Another says that

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15 மாமறை முதல்வன் மாடல னென்போன்
மாதவ முனிவன் மலைவலங் கொண்டு
குமரியம் பெருந்துறை கொள்கையிற் படிந்து.

Silapadigāram, xv. 13-15.

16 கஞ்ச வேட்கையிற் காந்தமன் வேண்ட
அமர முனிவ னகத்தியன் றனாது
கரகங் கவிழ்த்த காவிரிப் பாவை.

Maṇimēgalai, Padigam ll. 10-12.

The Skāndapurāṇam attributes this request to Indra. In Sanskrit Kāviri is called Kāvēri and is said to be the daughter of a Ṛṣi called Kavēra. This legend is alluded to in Maṇimēgalai, iii. ll. 55-56 and ix. 1.52. The story is given in Agastyapurāṇam, ii. 23, vide V. Swaminatha Aiyar's foot-note to p. 105, of Maṇimēgalai.

Agastya ordered a Śōḻa king who wore an armlet because he had destroyed a castle of the Asuras which was hanging in the sky, to request Indra to be present at a twenty-eight day celebration of an Indra feast in his capital of Kāvirippūmbaṭṭinam [17]. Thus was the Indra feast established, the neglect of which brought about a catastrophe. Later on in the poem occurs a further reference to Agastya. When Paraśurāma went about killing Kṣattriyas, Kāndaman, the reigning Śōḻan, was advised to conceal himself, by the guardian goddess of Kāviripūmbaṭṭinam and he took refuge in Agastya's hermitage and asked his successor to guard the city till Agastya should declare that danger was past [18].

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[17] ஓங்குயர் மலயத் தருந்தவ னுரைப்பத்
தூங்கெயி லெறிந்த தொடித்தோட் செம்பியன்
விண்ணகர் தலைவனை வணங்கிமுன் னின்று
மண்ணகத் தென்றன் வான்பதி தன்னுள்
மேலோர் விழைய விழாக்கோ ளெடுத்த
நாலேழ் நாளினு நன்கினி துறைகே
வமரர் தலைவ னுங்கது நேர்ந்தது.

Maṇimēgalai, i. ll. 3-9.

'In accordance with the orders of the sage of the tall hill, the Śōḻan who wore bracelets on his arms and destroyed the hanging castle, stood, bowing, before the Lord of the Gods, and said, may the great ones, with joy, reside in my heavenly city on the earth during the four times seven days when the festival is celebrated. The King of the Gods agreed to this.'

[18] மன்மருங் கறுத்த மழுவா ணெடியோன்
றன்முன் றோன்ற றகாதொளி நீயெனக்
கன்னி யேவலிற் காந்த மன்னவன்
அமர முனிவ னகத்தியன் றனாது
துயர்நீங்கு கிளவியின் யான்றோன் றளவும்.

Ib. xxii, ll. 25-27, and 35-36.

None of these legends of the I millennium A. D. refers to Agastya's invention of, or first learning, Tamil from divine teachers. Hence the conversion of the fact that a late Agattiyanār wrote the first Tamil grammar into the myth that the first Agastya learnt Tamil from Siva or Subrahmaṇya and taught it to the people of South India, must have taken place in the II millennium A. D. when commentators began to flourish and invent myth about the older time. The worst myth is what Naccinārkkiniyar tells us in his commentary on the prefatory ode to the Tolkāppiyam, called Pāyiram, that Agattiyanār asked his disciple, Tṛṇadhūmāgni, to escort the master's wife, Lopāmudrā, from Vidarbha to the Podiya hill. He at the same time warned his disciple not to approach his wife nearer than the length of four rods. When Lopāmudrā and Tṛṇadhūmāgni had to cross the Vaigai, the river was in flood, and, fearing that she would be washed away by the river, he extended his walking-stick to her and asked her to cling to it. He thus disobeyed his master's solemn injunctions, for in crossing the river, he was but one rod's length from her. The irate master, when he heard of this, exclaimed, "May you two not reach Svarga". The pupil, in turn, said, "As you have cursed us for no fault of ours, may you not reach Svarga." This legend was invented perhaps to explain the fact that the Agattyan has perished, whereas the Tolkāppiyam has not.

'When the Virgin goddess said, the tall God (Viṣṇu) with the battle-axe ought not to see you; therefore hide yourself, Kāndaman (asked his natural son to guard the city) till he should return, after Agastya, the muni of the Gods advised him that the danger was past."

CHAPTER XVI.

THE THREE TAMIL ŚANGAMS.

The phrase 'sangam poetry;'

It is popularly believed that the Pāṇḍya country had three different capitals at three different epochs, that śaṅgams or societies of poets were maintained at each one of these capitals, and that these saṅgams were organized bodies which acted as literary censors of every new poem that was sung, and accepted some as correctly composed and rejected others as worthless. Acting on this belief, literary critics of the last century have invented the phrase śaṅgacceyyuḷ, śaṅgam poetry, to mean poems that received the imprimatur of the Academy. This modern phrase is absurd, because except in the case of the Tolkāppiyam and the Tirukkuraḷ, there is not even a legend, written or unwritten, that any of the two thousand and odd odes that are now called śaṅgam poems were ever presented or intended to be presented to any association of scholars or courtiers or were accepted or rejected by any body of persons. Recent writers have made the phrase śangam poetry more absurd by extending it to the two epics, Śilappadigāram and Maṇimēgalai, which as is proved by their subject-matter, the names given to the characters and the kind of culture they describe, are much later than the early odes and which were composed at a time, when even according to the legends the śaṅgams had vanished out of existence. The traditional name given to the early odes is Śānṟōr Śeyyuḷ, poetry of the (ancient) great ones, and the poetry of the next epoch piṟa śānṟōr

śeyyuḷ, poetry of the later great ones, and these names are appropriate ones.[1]

Where the legend of the three sangams is first narrated:

This legend is narrated for the first time in the commentaries on Agapporuḷ[2], or grammar of love-poetry in sixty śūttirams, by one Iṟaiyanār. The word Iṟaiyanār means also God and so the authorship of this book has been attributed by the scholiast to Śivan and an elaborate legend invented to explain the occasion when and the manner how Śivan promulgated this book. He says that about the time when the last Śaṅgam ended, a great famine prevailed in the Pāṇḍya country, when the king, finding that he was unable to feed his court pandits, sent them away. When the famine was over, the king sent for them back to his court but was surprised to discover that none of them knew anything about the principles of Poruḷadigāram, i.e., the chapter on the subject-matter of poetry. The scholiast does not tell us how this was possible, for they must all have studied that chapter of the Tolkāppiyam, which according to this very writer was the authoritative grammar which guided the poets of the last Śaṅgam, as well as the one which preceded it. But this is not the

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[1] The phrases சங்கமலிதமிழ். சங்கமுகத்தமிழ் are quite different and will be discussed later on.

[2] This book is called by several modern Tamil writers Kaḷaviyal; but as the book contains two chapters, Kaḷaviyal (grammar of secret love) and Kaṟpiyal or grammar of married love, it is wrong to refer to it by the name of one of its chapters. The proper name is Agapporuḷ.

only defect in the statements of this scholiast. He goes on to say that the king was very much distressed, for the other chapters of grammar led up to the chapter on poetics and no poet could compose poetry without the guidance of Poruḷadigāram. Then the God of Madura, in order to relieve the royal distress, composed this book, inscribed it on three copper plates and hid it beneath his seat.[3] On the next day, the priest of the temple suddenly remembered that he had neglected for a long time the duty of washing the floor of the shrine and in order to do so, lifted the seat of the idol, discovered the copper-plates[4] and took them to the king. The king then sent for his pandits and asked them to expound the treatise thus miraculously obtained. They seated themselves on the God-given seat that floated on the waters of the holy tank of Madura, notwithstanding the combined weight of forty-nine men.

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[3] This unusual proceeding on the part of this God was, as has been said, invented to explain the fact that the author of the Agapporuḷ was one Iṛaiyanār. This person was an ancient poet and one of his poems is extant, being No. 2 of the Kuṛundogai. But Iṛaiyanār, meaning Lord, is also one of the Tamil appellations of Śivan and the book was attributed to Śivan probably to magnify its importance. Iṛaiyanār, the Lord, is also called Madurai Pērālavāyar, the God of Madura, the great Ālavāy. This Pērālavāyar is the author of Puṛam, 247 and 262, Agam 87 and 297 and Naṛṛinai 51 and 361. Perhaps all these poems were composed by one human poet and as his name was also that of the Madura God, some of them were attributed to the latter.

[4] This kind of legend came into popularity in the X century. A Kāśmīri Śaiva work, called the Śiva

From there the Pandits gave different interpretations of the book and each stoutly maintained that his own interpretation was the correct one; there was no one superior in knowledge to them, who could say with authority which was the correct interpretation. Then the God directed them to find out the five-year old dumb boy called Uruttiraśanman, and make him the umpire. The dumb boy could hear and they read out to him their commentaries; when Nakkīrar read out his, the boy shed tears of joy for every word of the interpretation and it was decided that Nakkīrar's commentary was the correct one[5]. The commentator then adds that some people say that Uruttiraśanman was the commentator on Agapporuḷ, but in the Scholiast's opinion, Nakkīrar composed it. The commentator then goes on to say that the commentary of Nakkīrar passed, by word of mouth, I suppose, from generation to generation of students till it reached the tenth genera-

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Sūtra by Vasugupta of the VIII century, was attributed to Śiva by Kṣemarāja, a X century commentator; he invented the legend that Śiva composed the Sūtras, engraved them on a rock on the Himālayas and directed Vasugupta in a dream to search for the book and teach it to the world. Vide Kṣemarāja's introduction to the Śiva Sūtra Vimarśinī, translated by me and published in the Indian Thought.

[5] The king need not have taken all this trouble, for the language of the book is not more obscure or difficult than that of any other work of the age. It may also be added that the commentary does not merely explain the text, but contains a lot of matter that was elaborated long after the age of the text.

tion in Nīlagaṇḍanār of Muśiṛi. Then it is said "thus has come this commentary".

It is evident from the above that the commentary that we have of the Agapporuḷ comes from a later hand than Nakkīrar's; whether it contains anything from Nakkīrar is open to serious doubt. With regard to this question M. Raghava Iyengar has pointed out that in Sēnāvaraiyar's commentaries on the Tolkāppiyam (Por. ix. 94), this latter-day scholiast says that Nakkīrar commented on the Iraiyanār Agapporuḷ and another person, who was an ascetic, wrote the commentary on the same for the sake of a later generation of readers; and therefore the commentary which we have is a later work. M. Raghava Iyengar is inclined to believe that this later commentator was Iḷambūraṇa Aḍigaḷ, who was the first to expound the Tolkkāppiyam and is hence always called "the scholiast" par excellence.[6] M. Raghava Iyengar adduces some proofs for his conclusion; though the evidence is good so far as it goes, it does not go far enough.

That the commentaries on Iṛaiyanār Agapporuḷ that we now have are not Nakkīrar's but by a later person is also proved by the fact that they quote 329 stanzas of four lines each, besides the usual quotations from the early poets which all books dealing with Agapporuḷ are bound to have. These 329 stanzas are intended to illustrate love-incidents *not* described in the text of the śūttirams, but taken from later grammars. The hero of these stanzas is one Arikēsari Parāṅguśan, the great-grand-father of the donor of the Vēḷvikkuḍi plates, who

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6 Śendamiḻ IV. vii. pp. 303—311.

ascended the throne c. 750 A.D. Hence Arikēsari belonged to the latter half of the VII century. Therefore the upper limit of the age of the commentaries which quote stanzas in praise of this Pāṇḍyan is the end of the VII century or beginning of the VIII century. The lower limit is the XIII century, the earliest possible age of Pērāśiriyar, who is the first to quote from this commentary of Agapporuḷ.[7]

The legend of the three sangams:

The commentator on Iraiyanār Agapporuḷ is the only person to describe the three Śaṅgams. The account runs as follows:—"The Pāṇḍiyans established three Saṅgams, viz., the first Śaṅgam, the Middle Śaṅgam and the last Śaṅgam. They say that the members of the first Ś ṅgam were 549, beginning with Agattiyanār, the God with hanging braids of hair who burnt the three cities (i.e., Śivan), Murugan who subjugated the hill, Muḍināgarāyar (he of the snake head) of Muriñjiyūr, the Lord of Treasure (Kubera). Under them they say 4,449 persons composed poetry. By them were sung countless poems (of the class) beginning with Paripāḍal, Mudunārai, Mudukurugu, Kaḷariyāvirai. They were members of the Śaṅgam for 4,400 years. Those that established them as members of the Śaṅgam were, they say, 89 (kings) from Kāyśina Vaḻudi to Kaḍuṅgōn. They say that seven of them mounted the platform of poets. They say that the place where they scrutinized Tamil (poetry) in (their) Śaṅgam was Madura, which was swallowed by the sea. The (authoritative) grammar for them was the Agattiyam.

Then the members of the Middle Śaṅgam were 59, beginning with Agattiyanār, Tolkāppiyanār, Irundaiyūr,

[7] Vide Pērāśiriyar's Comm. on Tol. Por. ix. 94.

Karuṅgōḻi, Mōśi, Veḷḷūrkkāppiyaṉār, Śīṟu (lesser) Pāṇḍuraṅgaṉ, Tiraiyaṉmāraṉ, the king of Tuvarai (Dwārasamudram or Dwāraka) and Kīrandai, say they. Under them, say they, 3,700 composed poems. Their works, they say, were Kali, Kurugu, Veṇḍāḷi, Viyāḻamālai Agaval, etc. Their (authoritative) grammars were the Agattiyam, the Tolkāppiyam, the Mā purāṇam, Iśainuṇukkam, and Būda purāṇam, say they. They say they were members of the Śaṅgam for 3,700 years. They say that those who established them in the Śaṅgam were 59 Pāṇḍiyans beginning with Veṇḍērcceḷiyan, and ending with Muḍattirumāran. Of them, say they, five mounted the platform of poets. The place where they scrutinized Tamil (poetry) in (their) Śaṅgam was Kabāḍapuram. Probably then the sea swallowed the Pāṇḍiya country.

Then the members of the last Śaṅgam who scrutinized Tamil (poetry) were forty nine, beginning with Śiṟu Medāviyār, Śēndambūdaṉār, Aṟivuḍaiyarāṉār, Peruṅguṉṟūrkkiḻār, Iḷam (younger) Tirumāran, Nallanduvaṉār, the scholar of Madura, Marudan Iḷanāgaṉār, Nakkīrar, the son of the school teacher, they say. Under them, say they, 449 poets composed poems. The poems sung by them were Neḍundogai four hundred, Kuṟundogai four hundred, Naṟṟiṇai four hundred, Puṟam four hundred, Aiṅguṟunūṟu, Padiṟṟuppattu, Kali one hundred and fity, Paripāḍal seventy, Kūttu, Vari, Siṟṟiśai, Pēriśai, etc. Their (authoritative) grammars were, they say, the Agattiyam and the Tolkāppiyam. They scrutinized Tamil (poetry) in their Śaṅgam for 1,850 years, they say. Those that established them in the Śaṅgam were 49 (kings) beginning with Muḍattirumāran who came away (from Kabāḍapuram to Madura) when the sea swallowed (a portion of the Pāṇḍya country) and ending

with Ukkirapperu Vaḻudi, they say. They scrutinized Tamil (poetry) in their Śaṅgam at Northern Madura, say they."

Criticism of the Legend:

I have translated the account as literally as English idiom would permit. The phrase 'they say,' occurring so many times, is the literal rendering of 'enba'; it means 'says a person' (whom the author holds in respect, generally his teacher) and does not necessarily imply a continuous tradition. Certain statements in this account are incredible and certain others absurd on the face of it. The number of years allotted to the different Śaṅgams is incredible, not only on account of the length assigned to the three periods but also on account of their symmetry. The length of the period of each Śaṅgam is a multiple of 37, and the total duration is 37 × (120 + 100 + 50). This shows how artificial the figures are. These figures are incredible for another reason also. In those early ages, in fact till the VIII century A. D., no era had been invented or adopted in the Tamil country and so there was no means of keeping count of years for any length of time.

The other figures in the account are all equally artificial, and incredibly big. Moreover it is absurd to say that 59 kings reigned for 3,700 years, whereas 549 of their ancestors reigned only 4,440 years. Agattiyanār is made to endure for 8,140 years, the period of the first two Śaṅgams put together. Nor can we believe that the 49 members of the last Śaṅgam lived for 1,850 years, though 49 kings died during the period. Therefore not one of the figures in this account can be believed.

Not merely the figures in this account of the Śaṅgams, but many other facts stated therein are incredible. It is said that all the poems in the Puṛam and other collections were composed by members of the third Śaṅgam or by poets working under their supervision. But we find in those collections poems congratulating certain Śōḻa kings on their defeating and putting to disgrace Pāṇḍya kings.[7] It is impossible to believe that the authors of such poems could have become members of the Śaṅgam maintained by Pāṇḍya kings or could have been countenanced by the Śaṅgam itself, or that such poems would have been included in anthologies authorized to be made by the kings of Madura. The collections were made in later times merely to preserve from destruction all available old poems.

Nor can we believe that men of different parts of Tamil India from Muśiṛi on the West Coast to Mylapore on the East, living under the patronage of kings who were so often fighting with each other, could be summoned at the fiat of the Madura king and sit, we are not told, how often in the year, in judgment over the works of poets, most of them short odes, a few lines long. The idea of an organized Academy is a very modern one and it is surely a violent anachronism to transfer it to many hundreds of years ago.

Numerous poets must have flourished before the age of Agattiyanār; for he could not have composed a grammar of literary Tamil and its literature without having previously studied innumerable poems. But the existence of these poets is not even hinted at by the commentator on Iṛaiyanār Agapporuḷ.

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[7] Vide Puṛam 31, 33, among several others.

Glaring absurdities can be pointed in this account of the thrre Śaṅgams. It says that the eight anthologies named were composed by the poets who worked under the last Śaṅgam; but the very first ode in the Puṟam anthology is by Muḍināgarāyar, who, in this very account, is called a member of the first Śaṅgam. Similarly poems composed by men whom the commentator on Iṟaiyanār Agapporuḷ assigns to the Middle Sangam are found in these anthologies. Thus No. 1C5 and No. 228 of Naṟṟinai are by Muḍattirumāran [8], the last royal patron of the second Śangam. But a technical objection may be raised that he was also the first patron of the last Śangam. This objection cannot apply to another fact, viz., that Panambāranār, who was a fellow-disciple of Tolkāppiyanār, and certainly belonged to the Middle Sangam is the author of No. 52 of Kuṟundogai.

If the commentator on Agapporuḷ with these anthologies before him could say they were all composed by men of the third Śaṅgam, whereas they contained poems belonging to the members of the first two Śaṅgams, as described by him, we are bound to conclude that he is a very unreliable witness.[9]

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[8] It may be noted that this royal poet wantonly uses the Sanskrit word, cāpa, where the Tamil vil would very well have done, quite as unhesitatingly as Kaḍiyalūr Uruttiraṅgaṇṇaṉār in Perumbāṇāṟṟuppaḍai, l. 120.

[9] There are three other poems in Puṟam, viz., No. 35̃5, No. 365 and No. 366, respectively by Vāṉmīgiyār, Mārkkaṇḍēyanār, and Gaudamanār, who are all claimed to be poets of the first Śangam by Naccinārkkiniyar, commentator on the Tolkāppiyam, (vide Śendamil III. ix. pp. 303-312 for a discussion on this subject by M. Raghava Iyengar). I am of opinion that these were

Another inaccurate statement made by the commentator on Agapporuḷ is that three Pāṇḍya patrons of the last Śaṅgam were poets. But in the Kuṟundogai, the Neḍundogai (i.e. Agam four hundred) Puṟam and Naṟṟiṇai, are found poems by not three Pāṇḍya kings, but so many as nine, not counting six Śōḻa kings represented in the above four anthologies; they are

(1) Ollaiyūr tanda Pūdappāṇḍiyan, author of Puṟam 71, Agam 25.

(2) Kaḍalun Māynda Iḷamberuvaḻudi, Puṟam 102, Naṟṟiṇai 121.

(3) Pāṇḍiyan Āryappaḍai Kaḍanda Neḍuñjeḻiyan, Puṟam 183.

(4) Pāṇḍiyan Talaiyālaṅgānattuc ceruvenṟa Neḍuñjeḻiyan, Puṟam 72.

(5) Ukkirapperuvaḻudi, Naṟṟinai, 68, Agam 26.

(6) Paṇḍiyan Māran Vaḻudi, Naṟṟinai, 67, 301.

(7) Pāṇḍiyan Arivuḍai Nambi, Kuṟundogai, 230, Naṟṟiṇai, 15, Agam, 373.

(8) Pāṇḍiyan Pannāḍu tandān, Kuṟundogai 270.

(9) Mālai Māṟan, Kuṟundogai 245.

Besides these nine, the wife of Pūdappāṇḍiyan, named Peruṅgōppeṇḍu, sang Puṟam 246, when she wanted to mount her husband's funeral pyre and a Kuṟuvaḻudi, son of Aṇḍar, a Pāṇḍya prince, sang Kuṟundogai, 345 and Agam, 150, and 228.

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not early poets; Vānmīgīyār was made an early poet because he was believed to be identical with Vālmīki, the contemporary of Śrī Rāma. Similarly Mārkkaṇḍēyanār was identified with Mārkaṇḍa, the ever young Ṛṣī; and Gaudamanār was made an old poet, because in his ode he sings the praises of one Aṟavōn Magan, which word is a literal translation of Dharmaputra, the title of the eldest of the Pāṇḍavas.

If the commentator on Agapporuḷ could be so very inaccurate with regard to the poems of the Śaṅgam nearest to him in time and the books which he had before him, I should think most people would agree about the worthless of his testimony with regard to the first and second Śaṅgams.

Probable historical facts in the legend:

The commentator on the Iṛaiyanār Agapporuḷ may have heard traditional stories of old Pāṇḍya kings and mixed them up with legends, some current in his time and others invented by him to make it up into a finished account. It is not impossible to extricate probable facts from improbable fiction in the legend so circumstantially narrated by him.

Indian Rājas have from early times been known to have had poets in their cortege. Kings have always hungered for praise and bards have always hungered for meat and thirsted for strong drink. The kings of the Vedic age had their sūtas and Tamil kings their pāṇar to sing their praise, and from early Tamil poems we learn that the Tamil kings were lavish in the distribution of food and drink to their bards and their kinsfolk. For instance one poet speaks of his relatives being plied "morning and evening with food made by boiling in milk mixed with honey the grains of ragi which grows on dry land, which resembles the eggs of pigeons, along with the fat meat of the rabbit roasted".[10] Another des-

[10] காலை யந்தியு மாலை யந்தியும்
புறவுக் கருவன்ன புன்புல வரகின்
பாற்பெய் புன்கந் தேனொடு மயக்கிக்
குறுமுயற் கொழுஞ்சூடு கிழித்த வொக்கலொடு.

Puṛ. 34, ll. 8.—11.

cribes how the king "gathered the bards who crowded round pots of liquor and how they drank it all up."[11] These bards sang in praise of the kings whenever the inspiration seized them. Thus must have been composed the odes that are found in the early anthologies. None of these poems were scrutinized in an Academy or subjected to the fire of criticism.

Was any poem at any time recited before a meeting of scholars for criticism, when the king sat in durbar (koluviruttal), surrounded by courtiers and bards? There is reliable testimony about one such event. When Tolkāppiyanār composed his famous grammar, he recited it in the court of a Pāṇḍ'ya king, called Nilandaru Tiruviṟ Pāṇḍiyan. In this assembly a Brāhmaṇa scholar of the village of Adaṅgōḍu and master of the four Vedas which teach the Dharma acted as critic. This event is testified to by Panambāranār, a friend and fellow-disciple of Tolkāypiyanār, in the Pāyiram or prefatory verses to the Tolkāppiyam.[12]

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[11] துணைபுண ராயமொடு தசும்புடன் றொலைச்சி
யிரும்பா ணொக்கற் கடும்பு புரந்ததூஉம்.

Puṟ. 224, ll. 2—3.

[12] நிலந்தரு திருவிற் பாண்டிய னவையத்
தறங்கரை நாவி னான்மறை முற்றிய
வதங்கோட் டாசாற் கரிறபத் தெரிந்து.

Ib. ll, 9—11.

This king is referred to in மதுரைக் காஞ்சி, ll. 60—61 where Neḍuñjeḻiyan is called

நிலந்தந்த பேருதவிப் பொலந்தார் மார்பி னெடியோ னும்பல்; the commentator misinterprets the passage.

Naccinārkkiniyar adds to this perfectly reliable statement a legend that Tolkāppiyanār frequently requested Adaṅgoṭṭāśān to attend the royal court (avai) on the occasion of the publication of the Tolkāppiyam, but Agattiyanār forbade Adaṅgōṭṭāśān's doing so. As a compromise, this scholar of Adaṅgōḍu attended the ceremony as a kind of devil's advocate and made a carping criticism of the Tolkāppiyam. But Tolkāppiyanār stood his ground firmly and parried off all the attacks. This story was manufactured to explain the phrase 'ariṟaba', 'faultlessly' in the Pāyiram. Naccinārkkiniyar adds that the king's name was Mākīrtti and he reigned for 24,000 years; but there is no instance known from early literature of any Pāṇḍiya or Sōḻa or Śēra king having a Sanskrit name or title till we came to Ugra Pāṇḍya in the V century A.D. and the title or name Mākīrtti must therefore be a late invention. Besides this there is no other instance of an early Tamil work being formally published and criticized in a royal court and it is ridiculous to claim that short occasional odes about all sorts of subjects were thus presented to an Academy.

In the two thousand and odd pieces that constitute the eight anthologies there is no word or phrase indicating that there continually existed academics of poets or scholars If there were any such it ought to have been mentioned by Neḍuñjeḻiyan, the victor of the battle of Talaiyālaṅgānam, in his ode where he boasts of his heroism and invokes, in case he should not defeat his enemies, several misfortunes on him, the last being, "may the limits of my kingdom no more be sung by poets whose fame is acknowledged by all in the world, the chief of whom is Māṅguḍi Marudan of great glory

and excellent scholarship."[13] As this, passage does not mention a Śaṅgam, we may take it that it did not exist or at least that the name Śaṅgam was not used in Neḍuñjeliyan's time as the name of the body of court-bards. En passant it may also be remarked that this passage gives the lie direct to the popular belief that Nakkīrar was the president of the "third Academy," if ever there was one.

The three Capitals :

There is no reason to discredit the information contained in the legend of the three Śaṅgams that the Pāṇḍiya kings changed their capital twice. The fish-emblem of this dynasty means that they originally belonged to a tribe of fishermen-sailors. Moreover the Pāṇḍiya country it was that was mainly concerned with the export trade of South India from pre-historic times. It is therefore likely that their first capital was a Madurai on the sea and it was the 'Madurai that was swallowed by the sea.' From the title we can infer that it was a seaport town; it was situated probably in the south of the west coast of South India, and as this coast underwent frequent upheavals and depressions, the place might have been wiped out by the sea. The scholiast says vaguely "Probably during that period the Pāṇḍiya country was swallowed by the sea." Apparently he had heard a vague tradition about the event and was not sure of the time when it happened. In ancient Tamil literature

[13] ஓங்கிய சிறப்பி னுயர்ந்த கேள்வி
மாங்குடி மருதன் றலைவ னாக
வுலகமொடு நிலைஇய பலர்புகழ் சிறப்பிற்
புலவர் பாடாது வரைகவென் னிலவரை.

Puṛ. 72, ll. 13—16.

there is a reference to some such catastrophe. In the Mullaikkali, the fourth of the Kalittogai, it is said, "when the surging sea stole his territory, he was not discouraged, but proceeded against his enemies, won (a piece of) their dominions, removed their tiger and bow emblems and with his strong arm planted (instead) his carp ensign. Hence the Pāṇḍiyan earned everlasting fame."[14]

The Śilapadigāram also refers to the same incident. "May the Southerner (i.e. Pāṇḍiya) prosper, who ruled over the South, after conquering the Gangāi and the Himālayam in the North, because the cruel[15] sea swallowed the Comorin hill to which is attached many ranges of hills, along with the river Paḥruḷi, in revenge for an old feud, (that caused) by his throwing the sharp spear at the ocean, (at the same time) indicating to kings the extent of his domain with his feet.'[16]

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[14] மலிதிரை யூர்ந்துதன் மண்கடல் வௌவலின்
மெலிவின்றி மேற்சென்று மேவார்நா டிடம்படப்
புலியொடு வின்னீக்கிப் புகழ்பொறித்த கிளர்கெண்டை
வலியினான் வணக்கிய வாடாச்சீர்த் தென்னவன்.

Kalittogai, 104, ll. 1—4.

[15] The word koḍum has been explained as bent or round by the commentator.

[16] அடியிற் றன்னள வரசர்க் குணர்த்தி
வடிவே லெறிந்த வான்பகை பொறாது
பஃறுளி யாற்றுடன் பன்மலை யடுக்கத்துக்
குமரிக் கோடுங் கொடுங்கடல் கொள்ள
வடதிசைக் கங்கையு மிமயமுங் கொண்டு
தென்றிசை யாண்ட தென்னவன் வாழி.

Śilappadigāram xi, ll. 17—22.

It will be noticed that while the Kalittogai makes the Pāṇḍiya recoup himself by defeating the Śōḷa and the Śēra kings, the Śilappadigāram makes him add the Ganges region and the Himalayas to his dominions. Aḍiyārkkunallār, the commentator on the Śilappadigāram, has recorded while commenting on another passage, a tradition that, in the days of the first Śaṅgam, when Nilandaru Tiruviṟ Pāṇḍiyan, one of the seven royal poets of that Śaṅgam, helped to publish the Tolkāppiyam, the river Pahruḷi, which was the northern boundary of the southern face of Tenbāli, the river Kumari[17] (presumably a stream that drained off the rain that fell on Comorin hill) and the intervening district the Teṅga nāḍu seven, Madurai nāḍu seven, front desert seven, back desert seven, hill nāḍu seven, east karai nāḍu seven, short palm nāḍu seven, also the land of several hills, including Kumari and Kollam, the forest and the river and the town up to the big hill north of Comorin were swallowed by the sea.[18] The rivers Kumari and Pahruḷi were probably two small hill rivulets flowing down to the sea and the strip of coast between them must have been lost. Pērāsiriyar one of the commentators on the Tolkāppiyam, says this district was called Panai nadu, the land of palms [19].

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[17] The Mahābbārata mentions a Kumārī nadī Bhīṣ. Par. ix 36 (Kum. Ed).

[18] Commentaries on Śilappadigāram viii ll. 1-2. The word seven probably refers to the number of villages in each district. One of the meanings of the word nāḍu is village. Adiyārkkunallār says that the extent of the lost territory was seven hundred kāvudam (i.e. one thousand miles), which is an intolerable exaggeration ; if it were true, the Pāṇḍiyan was certainly entitled to compensation by annexing all North India as the poet declares !

[19] Commentaries on Tol. Poruḷ. ix. 94.

Hence what was swallowed by the sea was a small bit of the modern Travancore, the southern part of which belonged to the Pāṇḍiyas in ancient days. Adiyārkkunallār in his commentaries on the passage above quoted, where the poet attributes the conquest of the Gaṅgā and the Himālaya to the Pāṇḍya, naively says that he got the Muttūrkūṟṟam on the boundaries of the Śōḷa country and the Kuṇḍūrkūṟṟam of the Śēra country to make up for the lost districts. The acquisition of two small districts in South India is converted by Iḷaṅgōvaḍigal, the author of the Silappadigāram, into practically the conquest of the whole of Northern India. Such fearful exaggeration is commonly indulged in by this poet; yet some modern investigators regard the poem, containing such exaggerations, to be so historical, that every word of it can be taken as literal truth, and build far-reaching theories on the strength of solitary phrases of this poem.

One of the districts lost in this catastrophe is called Madurai Nāḍu; this perhaps means Madurai, the first capital of the Pāṇḍyas and its hamlets. It is perfectly possible that after this district was drowned in the sea, the capital was shifted to Kabāḍapuram. This word is but an adaptation of the Sanskrit phrase pāṇḍyakavāṭam, meaning 'the door of the Pāṇḍya country.' The Tamil name of the place was Koṟkai. When this place was abandoned, the present (Northern) Madurai became the capital. The transfer of the capital from Koṟkai to Madura is noted by Pliny.[20] When the king changed his residence, we may presume, his poets also shifted their quarters to the new capital. The fact of the three capitals gave birth to the legend of the three Sangams

[20] Warmington, op. cit. p. 167.

Another Sangam legend :

At about the end of the V century A.D. North Indian Āgama cults—the Śaiva, the Vaiṣṇava, the Jaina and the Bauddha—burst the dam that separated the ordinarly life of the Tamils from that of the followers of the Northern cults in the Śōḷa, Śēra and Pāṇḍyia countries. The probable cause of this will be discussed later. Devotees of Śivan and Viṣṇu and Bhikkus of the Jaina and Bauddha cults swarmed in the land calling upon the Tamils to seek mokṣha. The worshippers of Śivan were called śivanaḍiyār or nāyanmār; those of Viṣṇu, āḷwār. Numerous temples arose in different villages of the Tamil country dedicated to Viṣhṇu or Śivan, where these devotees worshipped and miracles were performed at these shrines owing to the potency of the devotion of these Bhaktas. Each shrine produced a crop of legends proving its supreme holiness. The formation of these legends is a process that is going on even to-day. Often these legends find literary expression when a poet becomes a devotee of the god of the temple to which the legends pertain. The poems narrating these stories were generally composed in Sanskrit and called Sthalapurāṇams, and later adapted in Tamil. These Sthalapurāṇams, unlike the Purāṇams attributed to Vyāsa, do not contain any historical material; for their inspiring motive is purely local patriotism and consuming desire, to magnify the miracle-working potency of a particular idol.

The miracles performed by the presiding deity of the chief Śivan temple of Madura were called 'holy sports,' tiruviḷaiyāḍal, and two Sanskrit works and two Tamil ones exist on the subject. Though these books were composed in comparatively late times, they embody

legends which were born in the VI century A. D. and have gone on gathering volume like a snowball. A pseudo-historical appearance is given to these legends by the mention in them of a number of kings of Madura. But the fact that Sanskrit names have been given to these kings shows that they were all invented names, for except in the case of the latest of the Pāṇḍiya kings, Ukkira Pāṇḍiyan, no early Pāṇḍiya king but had a Tamil name. One of the legends says, in the reign of Vaṅgiya śēgaran (Sanskrit Vamśa sekhara), Brahmā quarrelled with his wife Sarasvatī, in Benares city, and ordained that of the fifty-one (Sanskrit) letters that constituted her body, the forty-eight from 'ā' to 'ha,' should become incarnated as mortal poets, and that the first letter 'a,' which was the life-principle of the rest, and also the god of Madura, would become an embodied being and a poet, and that along with the other forty-eight would form a Śaṅgam of forty-nine members. The forty-eight letters were born as men in this material world and after conducting learned debates in various places, proceeded to Madura. They were met by Śivan in person who advised them to worship the god of Madura. They did so, composed poems in his eulogy and then presented themselves before the Pāṇḍiyan. The monarch built for their residence a hall to the North-West of the temple and gave them many presents. This roused the jealousy of the poets who were already receiving royal patronage. The new arrivals defeated the latter in debate, and then begged Śivan to give them a sitting plank, wherewith to test the scholarship of candidates for poetic fame. Sivan then stood before them in the form of a poet, carrying with him a plank two spans square. They offered incense to the plank and Nakkīrar first set upon

it; then the rest, Kapilar, Paraṉar, etc, one after another. The plank grew in size, just enough to afford accomodation to true scholars. Then there arose quarrels among the poets as to whose poem was superior to the rest. Śivan again appeared among them and settled their disputes. This tale is of no use for historical purposes. The only thing in common between this legend and that which is found in the commentaries on Iṟaiyanār Agapporuḷ is the name of the poet Nakkīranār. This legend contemplates the existence of only one Śaṅgam and not three. Though so fully charged with mythology, modern writers have given it more credence than to the soberer one and speak of *the* Śaṅgam, as if there were only one such. It should not surprise us if the devotees of Śivan should speak of *the* Śaṅgam, for the object of their devotion, Śivan, took part in only one Śaṅgam. Hence in a poem found in the collection of hymns (Tēvāram) com posed by Appar (VII century A. D.), there is a reference to Śivan's sport in helping a poor poet, Tarumi, to gain a purse of gold in the Śaṅgam.[21] Probably the story of this 'sport' was current in the VII century A. D.)[22] But it is really surprising that so-called critical scholars of the present day should speak of one Śaṅgam. Either

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[21] நன்பாட்டுப்புலவனாய்ச் சங்கமேறி
நற்கனகக்கிழி தருமிக்கருளி னோன் காண்.

Tirupputtūr Tiruttāṇḍagam, 2. 1. 2.

[22] Another 'sport' of Siva described in this poem is the teaching of Tamil by Śivan to Agattiyanār; when exactly the story was invented we do not know but now for the first time the human author of the Agattiyam was turned into a semi-divine being.

they ought to speak of three Śaṅgams; or of none at all, according as they regard the scholiast's statement as credible or incredible. It is really curious that the critical method should lead any one to prefer the pure myth of the Sthalapurāṇam to the mixture of fact and fiction of the Scholiast.

The word Śaṅgam and its compounds:

The word Śaṅgam is the Tamil form of the Sanskrit Saṅgha, first popularized by the Jainas and the Bauddhas. The former used the word to indicate the organized body of the followers of Mahāvīra, composed of the Bhikkhu, the Bhikkṇnī, the Śrāvaka and the Śrāvikā. The former two were men and women ascetics, who followed a strict code of laws, involving extreme self-mortification and practised a difficult course of yoga practice, generally ending in the sallekhana, suicide by starvation. The latter were lay disciples of both sexes, who were candidates for asceticism. The whole was a systematically organized body of aspirants for jinahood. The Bauddha Saṅgha was the association of men or women ascetics who lived in monasteries, followed a code of laws much less severe than those of the Jaina Sanyāsīs and even of those of Brāhmaṇa ascetics and practised a Yoga system of their own. The Bauddha monks taught the Dharma to the lay public but did not include the laity in their organization. These Jaina and Bauddha ascetics migrated to the Tamil country from the IV century B.C., onwards, but lived at first in natural mountain caves and later in groves outside the capital cities; but till the V century A.D, they did not influence the lives of the ordinary Tamil men: so no mention of them is found in the early poems of the Tamils. They

are for the first time mentioned in the Paṭṭinappālai and the Maduraikkāñji[23].

A Jaina Saṅgha was for the first time established in the Tamil country at Madura in 470 A.D. "In a Digambara Darśanasāra, lately obtained from Anhilwād Pāṭhan, Devasena, who gives his own date as 909 (apparently from his constant use of that era, samvat 909 = A.D. 853), tells us that Vajranandī, the pupil of Srī Pūjyapāda, founded the Drāviḍa Sangha in Mathura of the Deccan in the year 525 'after the death (sic) of Vikrama." [24] It has to be noted that this was not a Tamil Saṅgam as we understand it, but an organization of the Jainas of the Tamil country for teaching the Jaina Dharma to lay disciples. The first Bauddha saṅgha of the Tamil country is mentioned in the romance called Maṇimēgalai as existing in Kāvirippūmbaṭṭinam. Among the sounds heard in the early morning in that city were " the right whorled chank-shells' inarticulate sounds and those of the (Bauddha) saṅgha's teaching of wisdom, pregnant with meaning"[25].

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[23] Paṭ. l. 53, Madur. ll. 476—488.

[24] Siri pumjja pādasīso dāviḍa saṅgassa kārago vusṭho |
ṇāmeṇa vajjanandī pāhuṇa vedī mahāsattho ‖
pamca sae cavīse vikramarāyassa maraṇa pattassa |
darikaṇa mahurājādo dāviḍa samgho mahāmaho ‖
J. B. B. A. S. vol. xvii. Part I. No. xlvi. p. 74.

[25] வலம்புரிச் சங்கம் வறிதெழுந் தார்ப்பப்
புலம்புரிச் சங்கம் பொருளொடு முழங்க.
vii. 113-114.

The paronomasia was rendered possible because the native word for chank and the borrowed word saṅgha, were pronounced alike.

The "three Jewels"—Buddha, Dharma and Śaṅgha—are mentioned later in the same poem.[26]

When the Śaiva cult began to compete with the Jaina and Bauddha cults in Madura in the VI century A. D., the Śaivas naturally desired to boast of a Saṅgha of their own, as a rival to those of the heretics; and so arose the legend of Śivan himself leading a society of scholars and poets who sang hymns about him, such as the one described by the Tiruviḷaiyāḍal Purāṇam; as members of that society were named the few poets of the early anthologies, who alone referred to Śivan in their odes, or who might otherwise be associated with Śivan, such as Iṛaiyanār, Uruttirar, Kapilar, Nakkīrar, Paraṇar, Maduraippērālavāyar. Thus apparently the word śaṅgam was used at first in Tamil for a religious association and its function was to teach Dharma or to sing about Śivan. For the first time the scholiast on the Iṛaiyanār Agapporuḷ used it in the sense of a lay, literary academy in his legendary account of the three śaṅgams.

The first phrases having the word śaṅgam as an element were śaṅgamali tamiḻ, śaṅgamugattamil, śaṅgat tamiḻ. In these phrases tamiḻ means Tamil verse and not the Tamil language; and śaṅgam has the connotation of a body of hymnists of Śivan or Viṣṇu, or is at least associated with religious poetry.

Thus the great Brāhmaṇa Śaiva hymnist, Tiruñāna śambandar describes the group of ten stanzas composed by him in praise of the god of Tiruttēvū-

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[26] புத்த தன்ம சங்க மென்னு
முத்திற மணியை மும்மையின் வணங்கி.

Ib. xxx ll. 34.

temple, "the ten Tamil (stanzas) pertaining to the śaṅgam sung by Ñānasambandan."[27]

In another hymn to the same god, he calls himself "one able (to compose) good śendamiḻ."[28]

Tirumaṅgai Āḻvār, the Vaiṣṇava hymnist, contemporary with the above, ends almost every one of his decades by describing his poems as having been composed in pure Tamil, calls in a certain one of his decades, "the Ten (stanzas) which form a garland for the head (?) of the śaṅgam."[29].

Another he calls "the Ten (stanzas) which are in Tamil belonging to the Śaṅgam."[30] The great Vaiṣṇava poetess, Āṇḍāl, daughter of Periyāḻvār, calls her delightful poem, Tiruppāvai, "the thirty (stanzas which form) a garland of śaṅgattamiḻ, composed by the daughter of the great Paṭṭar[31]

Another phrase which has become common among modern writers on Tamil history is Śaṅgakālam, 'the Śaṅgam period.' Seeing that no single assembly of poets was called a Śaṅgam, the phrase is meaningless. According to the commentator on Iraiyanār Agapporuḷ it was

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27 ஞானசம்பந்த னுரைசெய் சங்கமலி செந்தமிழ்கள் பத்து.

Tiruttēvūr Tēvāram, ii. 10. 11-3-4.

28 நல்ல செந்தமிழ் வல்லவன்.

Ib. i. 10. 1. 2.

29 சங்கமுகத்தமிழ் மாலைபத்து.

Periyatirumoḻi iii. 4. 10.

30 சங்கமலி தமிழ் மாலைபத்து.

Ib. iii. 9—10.

31 பட்டர் பிரான் கோதை சொன்ன சங்கத்தமிழ் மாலை முப்பது.

Tiruppāvai, 30, l. 5

a period of 9,900 years. Some modern writers rightly reject this figure, unreasonably dismiss into non-existence the authors of the various grammars and poems attributed to the first and second Śaṅgams, restrict the word Śaṅgam to the third, and use the phrase 'Śaṅgam period,' for what they imagine was the period of that Śaṅgam. The commentator on the Agapporuḷ says vaguely that the eight anthologies and certain other works, not now extant, were sung by "them", i.e. by the 449 poets who worked under the supervision of the 49 members of the third Śaṅgam. We do not reach either figure by counting up the poets of the eight anthologies. I have already pointed out that members of the first and second Śaṅgams according to the commentator are represented in the anthologies. But certain modern writers have persuaded themselves that all the poets whose poems constitute these anthologies lived in one or at the most two generations. This is absurd, for it means that ancient Tamil literature flashed like a meteor on the South Indian horizon, preceded by abysmal darkness and succeeded by a long praḷaya. It reminds one of the crude theories of most unscientific people that the manifestation of life on our globe took place suddenly on the extinction of beginningless chaos and life will be quenched equally suddenly and endless night will supervene. On the contrary, Tamil poetry, like every thing else in the universe was the result of slow growth during many centuries and has had from its birth till today an uninterrupted course of evolution.

Conclusion :

I may sum up the results of this long discussion :—

(1) Tamil poetry arose about 1,000 B.C., if not earlier, but almost all the poems of the I millennium, including

those on which Agattiyanār, Tolkāppiyanār and other early grammarians based their grammatical researches have perished. Yet we may be sure that they were all occasional odes on one or other incident of love or war, as described in the Poruḷadigāram of the Tolkāppiyam.

(2) These poets flourished in the sunshine of royal favour in the courts of the Tamil kings, not only Pāṇḍiya but also Śōḷa and Śēra. The kings were lavish in the distribution of meat and liquor to bards and their kinsfolk.

(3) The Pāṇḍiya kings had three capitals one after, another, and that was why the legend of three Śaṅgams arose.

(4) The numbers of years of the durations of, and of the members of, the Śaṅgams are absurd inventions.

(5) The Tamil Śaṅgam was first imagined as a religions body in imitation of a Drāvida śaṅgha established by Vajra Nandī in 470 A. D., and a few of the poets of the V century who happened to sing songs in praise of Śivan were spoken of as leading members of the Tamil Śaṅgam, which was graced by Śiva's presence, off and on, according to legend.

(6) In the VIII century or later, the name Śaṅgam was given to the royal darbars of ancient times, which were described as three Tamil Śaṅgams.

(7) The Śōḷa and Sēra kings must have had similar darbars since early times, but as these dynasties were under an eclipse from the end of the V century A. D., to the IX century A. D. or on account of the absence of famous temples like that of Madura, or other causes which

cannot be discovered, the Śivans of other places were not credited with helping Śaṅgams there. Hence the Paṇdiyas alone got the honour of possessing Śaṅgams

(7) The legend of three Śaṅgams is not a genuine tradition handed down from one generation of scholars to another but a hotch-potch of vague memories of royal assemblies, surmises with regard to allusions in poems and legends of Śivan's miracles.

CHAPTER XVII

THE FIRST HALF-MILLENNIUM A. D.
LIFE OF THE PEOPLE.

The old Tamil ways still going strong:

Notwithstanding the existence in their midst of Brāhmaṇas and the attempts of Agattiyanār and Tolkappiyanār to import Aryan culture into the Tamil country, the bulk of the people continued to live as if Aryan culture did not exist. They lived and loved just in the same ways as their forebears did in the olden times. Their occupations, customs, and beliefs, superstititious or otherwise, did not at all alter. The following extracts will enable the reader to realize that the simple rural life of the pre-christian centuries continued intact and will also show that notwithstanding its contact with Sanskrit culture, the Tamil Muse still sought inspiration from the humble scenes around, which it deserted a few centuries later when the artificial poetry of Sanskrit subjugated the Tamil mind and for all time destroyed the beautiful realistic poetry of the early Tamils.

Raising of food in the hill-country:

The raising of food was the chief work of the people and is frequently described. "In the red high land where is the Vēṅgai (Pterocarpus bilobus) tree which grows well in the heat, the field gets well soaked in the rains of the rainy season. They plough it many times so that the sod is well turned. They sow and harrow and in the proper season pull out the many-branched weeds. The stalks grow leaves plentifully and like the pea-hen

which has recently laid eggs, their black stems rise tall and grow many spikes of corn from head to foot. They reap the ragi and the panicum in the proper season, when the sesamum becomes dark and the white fruit of the bean which grows from stout creepers is ready for cutting, and they distribute in the huts covered with straw the liquor that has been buried in the earth and is ripe; they fry the ground-nut in sweet smelling oil and cook food."[1] But raising food-stuff by ploughing was not an absolute necessity in the hill-country; food-stuff got without ploughing is described in the following. "(Your country) produces four crops which do not require ploughing by farmers. First, the rice grows in the bamboo which has small leaves. Secondly, the sweet pulp ripens in the jack-fruit. Thirdly the tubers of the sweet potato descend from the thick creeper. Fourthly, the ripe blue honey comb bursts when the

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[1] வெப்புள் விளைந்த வேங்கைச் செஞ்சுவற்
கார்ப்பெயற் கலித்த பெரும்பாட் டீரத்துப்
பூழி மயங்கப் பலவுழுது வித்திப்
பல்லி யாடிய பல்கிளைச் செவ்விக்
களைகால் கழாலிற் றோடொலிபு நந்தி
மென்மயிற் புனிற்றுப் பெடைகடுப்ப நீடிக்
கருந்தாள் போகி யொருங்குபீள் விரிந்து
கீழு மேலு மெஞ்சாமைப் பலகாய்த்து
வாலிதின் விளைந்த புதுவர கரியத்
தினைகொய்யக் கவ்வை கறுப்ப வவரைக்
கொழுங்கொடி விளர்க்காய் கோட்பத மாக
நிலம்புதைப் பழுனிய மட்டின் றேறல்
புல்வேய் குரம்பைக் குடிதொறும் பகர்ந்து
நறுநெய்க் கடலை விசைப்பச் சோறட்டு.

Puṛ. 120. ll. 1—14.

beautifully-coloured monkey jumps on it and the long hard hills drip with honey[2] ". "The dwellers of the hill country were loth to part from it, because from bough to bough, are hanging the honey combs, large fruits are ripening in bunches, bright rivulets are running down the hill looking like garlands, on the hill-sides are being raised various kinds of grains and pulses all the year round and the mountainous country is very fertile,"[3]

The life of the hunter:

By way of recounting the exhortation of a maiden made to her lover not to visit her during nights, exposing himself to the dangers of walking in the dark through the hill-country, a poet describes several incidents in the life of the hunter. "Lord of the high hill, the boar, whose neck is covered with bristles, along with its mate whose breasts are dried up like leather, destroys the millets on their stalks; the hunter, through a hole in the thicket in the road, shoots the

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[2] உழவ ருழாதன நான்குபய னுடைத்தே
ஒன்றே, சிறியிலை வெதிரி னெல்விளை யும்மே
இரண்டே, தீஞ்சுளைப் பலவின் பழமூழ்க் கும்மே
மூன்றே, கொழுங்கொடி வள்ளிக் கிழங்குவீழ்க் கும்மே
நான்கே, அணிநிற வோரி பாய்தலின் மீதழிந்து
திணிநெடுங் குன்றந் தேன்சொரி யும்மே.

Pur. 109 ll. 3—8.

[3] பிரசந் தூங்கப் பெரும்பழந் துணர
வரைவெள் ளருவி மாலையி னிழிதரக்
கூல மெல்லாம் புலம்புக நாளு
மல்லற் றம்மவிம் மலைகெழு வெற்பெனப்
பிரிந்தோ ரிரங்கும் பெருங்கன் னாடு.

Nar. 93. l· 1—5,

boar with an arrow from his bow. The black-haired lady of the house decorates the white tusked boar, cuts it up and distributes pieces of its meat to every house in the village. You (lord of this village), are coming here in the night without fear, when the strong, angry elephant is standing expecting the tiger. The thought of it strikes me with fear. Do not henceforth come along the road, where the bear, like a cloud, stalks round the snake's nest, which has a wet hole, searching for prey."[4]

In the Valleys:

In the low lands, "the stork feeds from the tank and sleeps on the corn-stalk. The farmers, who reap the beautiful fields where the lily grows, drink from cups made of the lily leaves from whose opening bud the petals hive dropped off and dance keeping time to the roaring waves of the clear sea. May I, eager for reward, not return, after praising ycu, lord of these lands, empty handed and disappointed as do the birds that fly high in the sky and, desiring the jack-fruit, go so that the mountain-caves resound with the noi se

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[4] பிணர்ச்சுவற் பன்றி தோன்முலைப் பிணவொடு
கணைக்கா லேனல் கைம்மிகக் கவர்தலிற்
கல்லத ரரும்புழை யல்கிக் கானவன்
வில்லிற் றந்த வெண்கோட் டேற்றைப்
புனையிருங் கதுப்பின் மனையோள் கெண்டிக்
குடிமுறை பகுக்கு நெடுமலை நாட
வுரவுச்சின வேழ முறுபுலி பார்க்கு
மிரவி னஞ்சா யஞ்சுவ லரவி
னீரளைப் புற்றங் காரென முற்றி
யிரைதே ரெண்கின மகழும்
வரைசேர் சிறுநெறி வாரா தீமே.

Nar. 336.

of their flight, and find that the tree has ceased to bear fruit."[5]

The commonest objects and the most ordinary incidents of the agricultural region elicited the most sweet poetry from the poets of the Tamil country, before they came under the cramping influence of the artificial poetry of the later ages of classical Sanskrit composition. Thus sings a Tamil poet:—

"The water of the magnificent tank is flowing into the irrigation-canal; the horned Vāḷai-fish tries to swim against the current, but is borne down to the slushy fields; its white scales are dotted with dirt from the feet of the buffaloes that draw the plough, and the ploughman who ploughs up and down many times beats it with his stick. It then rolls in the edge of the furrow."[6]

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[5] பொய்கை நாரை போர்விற் சேக்கு
நெய்தலங் கழனி நெல்லரி தொழுவர்
கூம்புவிடு மென்பிணி யவிழ்ந்த வாம்ப
லகலடை யரியன் மாந்தித் தெண்கடற்
படுதிரை யின்சீர்ப் பாணி தூங்கு
மென்புல வைப்பி னன்னாட்டுப் பொருந
பல்கனி நசைஇ யல்குவிசும் புகந்து
பெருமலை விடரகஞ் சிலம்ப முன்னிப்
பழனுடைப் பெருமரந் தீர்ந்தெனக் கையற்றுப்
பெறாது பெயரும் புள்ளினம் போலநின்
னசைதர வந்துநின் னிசைநுவல் பரிசிலேன்
வறுவியேன் பெயர்கோ,

Pur. 209. 1-12.

[6] மாண் பெருங்குள மடைநீர் விட்டெனக்
காலணைந் தெதிரிய கணைக்கோட்டு வாளை
யள்ளலங் கழனி யுள்வா யோடிப்

This is another extract relating to life in the river-valley. "In the midst of lotuses whose flowers look like forked flame, the reapers who have cut the stalks of the red paddy throw the sheaves. If the carts in which these reapers carry their liquor get stuck in the mud, they heap up below the wheels of the cart the stalks of the sugar-cane: O lord of this land where flows the river, you have lost all sense of shame. For they say you are constantly playing with your mistress in the flood. Her fair face makes effulgent the broad ford of the river on whose banks the Butea frondosa bears flowers looking like fried paddy. Her thick tresses are pleasant to see and smell sweet with flowers. Her looks are pert. On her beautiful breasts the garland of pearls heaves up and down. Her beauty pierces the mind" ([7]).

பகடுசே றுதைத்த புள்ளிவெண் புறத்துச்
செஞ்சா லுழவர் கோற்புடை மதரிப்
பைங்காற் செறுவி னணைமுதற் புரளும்.

Naṛ. 340. ll. 3-8.

[7] எரியகைந் தன்ன தாமரை யிடையிடை
யரிந்துகால் குவித்த செந்நெல் வினைஞர்
கட்கொண்டு மறுகுஞ் சாகா டளற்றுறி
னொய்கரும் படுக்கும் பாய்புன லூர
பெரிய நாணிலை மன்ற பொரியெனப்
புன்கவி ழகன்றுறைப் பொலிய வொண்ணுத
னறுமலர்க் காண்வருங் குறும்பல் கூந்தன்
மாழை நோக்கிற் காழியல் வனமுலை
யெஃகுடை யெழினலத் தொருத்தியொடு நெருநை
வைகுபுன லயர்ந்தனை.

Agam. 116. ll. 1-10.

In the littoral tracts:

Fishing was the chief occupation of Neydal, the littoral tract, and the poet did not think that this occupation was too lowly a subject for his craft. "For throwing into the sea, which roars like thunder, the great net woven of ropes twined tight, the heavily laden punt was propelled with poles by men who looked like uncontrollable elephants . . . The village near the clear sea is surrounded by a hedge of Kaṇḍal trees; and in its gardens spread with new sand the fine pollen from the opening buds of the Alexandrian laurel is blown by the east wind on the white backs of the herons."[8] A fisher-girl in the following beautiful ode requests her lover to stay overnight, for the men of her house were not likely to return soon. "The girls who are adorned with bright bangles welcome from their houses the dark-eyed eventide which announces the sad news that the sun who, rising from the eastern ocean had spread his fair-hued rays to make the day bright, has vanished behind the western hill. The village is filled with the sound of the beating of the waves of the broad sea, which is blue like the light of

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[8] வடிக்கதிர் திரித்த வன்ஞாட் பெருவலை
யிடிக்குரற் புணரிப் பௌவத் திடுமார்
நிறையப் பெய்த வம்பி காழோர்
சிறையருங் களிற்றிற் பரதவ ரொய்யும்
. . . . . . போதவிழ்
புதுமணற் கானந் புன்னை நுண் டாது
கொண்ட வசைவளி தூக்குதொறுங் குருகின்
வெண்புற மொசிய வார்க்குந் தெண்கடற்
கண்டல் வேலிய ஊர்.

Nar. 74, ll. 1—4, 6—10.

the lamp in which is burnt the fat of the fish. Will you lose anything if you stay here with us? My relatives, who have gone to kill the cruel shark which runs away tearing the beautiful net whose feet are made of red thread and head is bent, will not return empty-handed".[9] The amenities of life on the sea-coast are described in one ode There "the great farmers who reap the paddy in the heat of the bright sun, jump on the waves of the clear sea; the sturdy sailors, who own strongly built boats drink the hot (i. e., strong) liquor and dance the Kuravai measure; they take hold of the bright-bangled hands of the women who are wearing the garlands made of the soft clusters of the flowers of the Alexandrian laurel (punnai) which has leaves wetted by the droplets of sea-water and drips with honey; in the cool groves in which bees swarm round the flowers, women wearing bright bracelets and garlands of Pandanus flowers, drink the juice of the pulp of the palmyra fruit, mixed with that of the

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[9] குணகட லிவர்ந்து குருஉக்கதிர் பரப்பிப்
பகல்கெழு செல்வன் குடமலை மறையப்
புலம்வந் திறுத்த புன்கன் மாலை
யிலங்குவளை மகளிர் வியனக ரயர
மீனிணந் தொகுத்த வூனெய் யொண்சுடர்
நீனிறப் பரப்பிற் றயங்குதிரை யுதைப்பக்
கரைசேர் பிருந்த கல்லென் பாக்கத்
தின்றுநீ யிவணை யாகி யெம்மொடு
தங்கி னெவனோ தெய்ய செங்காற்
கொடுமுடி யவ்வலை பரியப் போகிய
கோட்சுறாக் குறித்த முன்பொடு
வேட்டம் வாயா தெமர்வா ரலரே.

Nar, 215.

shining sugar-cane and the sweet water of the round cocoanut which grows on sand, and leap into the sea ".[10]

A poem in which the foster-sister exhorts the lover to stay overnight and console the heroine gives another picture of the coastal region and its ways. "Crowds of fish-eating, yellow-legged storks fly in the red sky and look like the garland of pearls on the breast of Murugan. The many-rayed sun has spent the day little by little and set behind the western sky. This maiden of great modesty and delicate beauty has lost heart; her fair eyes

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10 நெல்லரியு மிருந்தொழுவர்
செஞ்ஞாயிற்று வெயின்முனையிற்
றெண்கடற்றிரை மிசைப்பாயுந்து
திண்டிமில் வன்பரதவர்
வெப்புடைய மட்டுண்டு
தண்குரவைச் சீர்தூங்குந்து
தூவற் கலித்த தேம்பாய் புன்னை
மெல்லிணர்க் கண்ணி மிலைந்த மைந்த
நெல்வளை மகளிர் தலைக்கை தரூஉந்து
வண்டுபட மலர்ந்த தண்ணறுங் கானன்
முண்டகக் கோதை யொண்டொடி மகளி
ரிரும்பனையின் குரும்பைநீரும்
பூங்கரும்பின் றீஞ்சாறு
மோங்குமணற் குவவுத்தாழைத்
தீநீரோ டுடன்விராஅய்
முந்நீ ருண்டு முந்நீர்ப் பாயும்.

Pur̤. 24. ll. 1—16

In the last line there is a fine pun. They drink the three waters—palmyra, sugarcane and cocoanut—mixed together and jump into the 'triple-water,' the name of the sea-water, because it contains the water of springs, rivers and rain.

have begun to shed tears. My lord, your mule, which has been wounded in the leg by the shark of the lagoon, cannot wade through its dark waters, hence do not go back in the night in the company of your young followers who carry the strong bow. There in the sandy garden where the palmyra grows and the nightingale calls for its mate, is a place surrounded by the long backwater, which belongs to us who wear small clusters of lilies. What will you lose if you go there and take rest?[11]

In the sandy desert:

In the bleak desert region, Pālai, the conditions of life were difficult. "The summer lingers long on the hill-side and the hot sunlight looks like a long white piece of cloth spread wide. The hungry wolf kills and

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11 நெடுவேண் மார்பி னாரம் போலச்
செவ்வாய் வானந் தீண்டி மீனருந்தும்
பைங்காற் கொக்கின நிரைபறை யுவப்ப
வெல்லை பைப்பயக் கழிப்பிக் குடவயிற்
கல்சேர்ந் தன்றே பல்கதிர் ஞாயிறு
மதரெழின் மழைக்கண் கலுழ விவளே
பெருநா ணணிந்த சிறுமென் சாயன்
மாணலஞ் சிதைய வேங்கி யானு
தழறொடங் கினளே பெரும வதனாற்
கழிச்சுறா வெறிந்த புட்டா ளத்திரி
நெடுநீ ரிருங்கழிப் பரிமெலிந் தசைஇ
வல்வி விளையரொ டெல்லிச் செல்லாது
சேர்ந்தனை செலினே சிதைகுவ துண்டோ
பெண்ணை யோங்கிய வெண்மணற் படப்பை
யன்றி லகவு மாங்கட்
சிறுகுர னெய்தலெம் பெருங்கழி நாட்டே.

Agam, 120.

eats the emaciated elk ; what remains of the meat after the wolf has eaten, is alone the food available to the man from other regions who travels in the Pālai. It is wearisone for one to go on the difficult paths there."[12] The desert region is not without beauties of its own. " On the fine sand where the water has all dried up, are visible the lines which form the tracks of the birds which have bent feathers. As the gentle north wind plays upon the sugar-cane, its white flower spreads out and, looking like the fly-whisk waved before a king, beautifies the thicket. When the clouds are deserting the sky, the sun shows himself and disappears, as if he opened and shut his eyes alternately ; the day departs, evening comes on ; and then the mid-night when the dew falls heavily."[13]

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[12] துகில்விரித் தன்ன வெயிலவி ருருப்பி
னென்றூழ் நீடிய குன்றத்துக் கவாஅ
ஞெய்பசிச் செந்நா யுயங்குமரை தொலைச்சி
யார்ந்தன வொழிந்த மிச்சில் சேய்நாட்
டருஞ்சுரஞ் செல்வேர்க்கு வல்சி யாகும்
வெம்மை யாரிடை யிறத்தல்.
Naṛ. 43. ll. 1—6.

[13] கொடுஞ்சிறை
யுள்ளடி பொறித்த வரியுடைத தலைய
நீரழி மருங்கி னீரயர் தோன்ற
வளரா வாடை யுளர்புநனி தீண்டலின்
வேழ வெண்பூ விரிவன பலவுடன்
வேந்துவீசு கவரியிற் பூம்புத லணிய
மழைகழி விசும்பின் மாறி ஞாயிறு
விழித்திமைப் பதுபோல் விளங்குபு மறைய
வெல்லைபோகிய பொழுதி னெல்லுறப்
பனிக்காற் கொண்ட பையுள் யாமம்.
Naṛ. 241, ll. 1–10.

But yet this region is desolate enough, though people have to cross it frequently. "The men that have passed along the track have cut the vine called piraṇḍai (vitis quadranularis); the cut creeper looks like a piece of the green snake chopped by the thundrbolt, shrivelled on the track. In the hearth made of stones left by the salt-vendors the youthful archers boil meat and rice till the smell rises and eat it with delight."[14]

In the pastoral regions:

The Mullai, pastoral region, was a very pleasant one to dwell in. There, "in the last day of the rains which pour in streams from the sky, the shepherd carries suspended from his hand a hoop made of many strands, (with a milk-pot in it) and on his back a rolled up palm-leaf mat and a leather-bag containing the fire-churn and other tools; when he goes on shouting the price of milk, one side of his body is wetted by the rain-drops, he leans his stick on the ground, places one foot on it and screws his lips and whistles his call to his small-headed sheep so that they may not stray to another man's land and the sheep stand motionless. The virtuous, fair lady of this truly fertile pastoral village, though it is night, is delighted to feed her guests."[15]

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14 ஆறுசென் மாக்கள் ளறுத்த பிரண்டை
யேறுபெறு பாம்பின் பைந்துணி கடுப்ப
நெறியயற் றிரங்கு மத்தம் வெறிகொள
வுமண்சாத் திறந்த வொழிக லடுப்பி
னோன்சிலை மழவ ரூன்புழுக் கயரும்.

Agam, 119, ll. 5—9.

15 வானிகுபு சொரிந்த வயங்குபெயற் கடைநாட்
பாணி கொண்ட பல்கான் மெல்லுறி
ஞெலிகோற் கலப்பை யதளொடு சுருக்கிப்

The spring is the pleasantest season in the pastoral district. "The shrub, piḍā, from which the yellow leaves had dropped down, has now put forth innumerable buds; the mullai (creeper jasmine) which climbs on thickets has flowered; the cassia (konṛai) has produced golden flowers; the short-branched Kāyā (memecylon tinctorium) shines with efflorescence which looks like sapphires; in the morning the clouds have commenced to shower. Look! the stag full of love runs about in search of his mate, who has run away from the herd along with her timid-looking young ones on the barren ground."[16]

பறிப்புறத் திட்ட பானொடை யிடைய
னுண்பஃ றுவலை யொருதிற நனைப்பத்
தண்டுகால் வைத்த வொடுங்குநிலை மடிவிளி
சிறுதலைத் தொழுதி யேமார்த் தல்கும்
புறவி னதுவே பொய்யா யாண
ரல்லி லாயினும் விருந்துவரி னுவக்கு
முல்லை சான்ற கற்பின்
மெல்லியற் குறுமக ளுறைவி னூரே.

Nar. 142.

16 இலையில் பிடவ மீர்மல ரரும்புப்
புதலிவர் தளவம் பூங்கொடி யவிழப்
பொன்னெனக் கொன்றை மலர மணியெனப்
பன்மலர்க் காயாங் குறுஞ்சினை கஞலக்
கார்தொடங் கின்றே காலை . . . . . .
. . . . உவக்காண்
கழிப்பெயர் களரிற் போகிய மடமான்
விழிக்கட் பேதையொ டினனிரிந் தோடக்
காமர் நெஞ்சமொ டகலாத்
தேடூஉ நின்ற விரலை யேறே.

Nar. 242.

The sounds of the Mullai country are pleasant to hear. "In the darkness of the midnight when, like the sky (bright with stars) the muśundai (Ipnoea candicans) with folded leaves has put forth its white flowers on the sides of the hills from whose tops drips the honey. The shepherd who gathers together the kids and carries (on his back) the mat made of palm leaves, wears the garland, from which water is dripping, made of the cool sweet smelling mullai flowers mixed with the november flowers on which bees are falling. He utters a long-drawn cry to drive off the jackals; while is glowing in his hand a slender burning-brand. This sound, and the sound of the long horn which is blown by the watchmen of the millet-field for driving away the large herd of small-eyed pigs, are characteristic of the dry land of the forest tract."[17]

"The houses (of this region) are built on short posts and are provided with plenty of food. (I'n front of

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[17] தேம்படு சிமயப் பாங்கர்ப் பம்பிய
குவையிலை முசுண்டை வெண்பூக் குழைய
வானெனப் பூத்த பானாட் கங்குள்
மறித்துரூஉத் தொகுத்த பறிப்புற விடையன்
றண்கமழ் முல்லை தோன்றியொடு விரைஇ
வண்டுபடத் தொடுத்த நீர்வார் கண்ணிய
னைதுபடு கொள்ளி யங்கை காயக்
குறுநரி யுளம்புங் கூரிரு ணெடுவிளி
சிறுகட் பன்றிப் பெருநிரை கூடிய
முதைப்புனங் காவலர் நினைத்திருந் தூதுங்
கருங்கோட் டோசையொ டொருங்குவந்
திசைக்கும்
வன்புலக் காட்டுநாட் டதுவே.

Agam, 94, ll. 1—12.

them) is placed as offering to the gods, red rice cooked and the black-eyed Karunai-tuber fried and the round-eyed and sharp-mouthed she-crow, embraces her young ones whose feathers are trembling, calls her friends, and picks up the offering."[18]

This description of the life of the common people might well end with a picture of a poverty-stricken house. "The high, crooked hearth has lost all memory of cooking; and fungus has grown on it. She is suffering from hunger which emaciates the body; her dry breast being without milk has become a wrinkled skin, its vent-holes have been blocked up, and the child is chewing it, weeping. My wife looks at the face of the weeping child and her eyes and both eyelashes are filled with tears."[19]

Minor Professions :

By this time life had become sufficiently advanced to require the exercise of all the professions now found

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18 கொடுங்கட் காக்கைக் கூர்வாய்ப் பேடை
நடுங்குசிறைப் பிள்ளை தழீஇக் கிளைபயிர்ந்து
கருங்கட் கருனைச் செந்நெல்வெண் சோறு
சூருடைப் பலியொடு கவரிய குறுங்காற்
கூழுடை நன்மனை.

Nar. 367, ll. 1—5.

19 ஆடுநனி மறந்த கோடுய ரடுப்பி
னாம்பி பூப்பத் தேம்புபசி யுழவாப்
பாஅ லின்மையிற் றோலொடு திரங்கி
யில்லி தூர்ந்த பொல்லா வறுமுலை
சுவைத்தொ றழூஉந்தன் மகத்து முகநோக்கி
நீரொடு நிறைந்த வீரிதழ் மழைகணென்
மனையோள்.

Pur. 164, ll. 1—7

in villages. These occupations furnished poets with similes. A warrior is described "to be as strong as the anvil in the smithy where the blacksmith with strong arms forcibly strikes the iron and turns it into the lance."[20] "The broad leaves of the lily growing near the rivulet caught by the long vine of the cane, which grows near the banks of the tank and has small thorns like the surface of a rasp, are moved by the fitful gusts of the north wind, and look like the bellows which are blown in the smithy and grow tense and lax alternately."[21] "Let us eat bits of meat soaking in oil which reduces the anger of the fire and makes them look like the carded cotton wool used by women for spinning and let us drink liquor from the big bowl alternately."[22] 'The reapers of pulses eat the food made by husking and cooking the ragi grain which comes from the forked stalk, and also the sour porridge cooked by the cowherdess by boiling in white curds the

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20 இரும்பு பயன்படுக்குங் கருங்கைக் கொல்லன்
விசைத்தெறி கூடமொடு பொரூஉ
முலைக்கல் லன்ன வல்லாள்.

Pur. 170. ll. 15-17.

21 பொய்கை யடைகரைப் பிரம்பி
னரவா யன்ன வம்மு ணெடுங்கொடி
யருவி யாம்ப லகலடை துடக்கி
யசைவரல் வாடை தூக்கலி னூதுலை
விசைவாங்கு தோலின் வீங்குபு ஞெகிழும்.

Agam. 96 ll. 3-7.

22 பருத்திப் பெண்டின் பனுவ லன்ன
நெருப்புச்சினந் தணிந்த நிணந்தயங்கு கொழுங்குறை
பரூஉக்கண் மண்டையொ டூழ்மாறு பெயர
வுண்கும்.

Pur. 125. ll. 1-4.

white flower of the Vēḷai (Cleome pentaphylla) which grows early in the evening in the street full of the droppings of cattle.[23] Even the most prosaic work does not quench the poetic fire. Thus :—" The festival has commenced in the villages. The warrior who must attend the festival, finds that his wife is about to be delivered of a child, and he wants also to be of help to her. The sun has set in the cloudy sky ; he stitches strips of leather supplied by the pulaiyan to the cot. Faster than his needle plies, the hero who wears the garland of Ātti (Bauhinia recemosa) flowers goes to meet the enemy who has invaded his country ".[24] Apparently in those old times potters acted as heralds proclaiming occasions of festivity to the public, for a lady says to a potter, "Oh, wise potter, who are wearing a garland of the clusters of white nocci (Vitex negundu) flowers, bright like the stalk where the buds are just forming, and who are passing along the street broad as a stream and proclaiming that a festival is going to be celebrated, proclaim this also, when you are going to

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[23] கவைக்கதிர் வரகி னவைப்புறு வாக்க
றாதெரு மறுகிற் போதொடு பொதுளிய
வேளை வெண்பூ வெண்டயிர்க் கொளீஇ
யாய்மக ளட்ட வம்புளி மிதவை
யவரை கொய்யுந ரார மாந்தும்.

Pur. 215, ll. 1—5.

[24] சாறுதலைக் கொண்டெனப் பெண்ணீற்றுற்றெனப்
பட்டமாரி ஞான்ற ஞாயிற்றுக்
கட்டி னிணக்கு மிழிசினன் கையது
போழ்தூண் டூசியின் விரைந்தன்று மாதோ
வூர்கொள வந்த பொருநனொ
டார்புனை தெரிய நெடுந்தகை போரே.

Pur. 82.

the village which has large fields where the lily grows in plenty in large tanks, 'ladies with sharp teeth and broad forelap, the troubles caused by the musician (pāṉan) who plays on strings are many; guard yourselves from his words which are a bundle of lies"[25]. The potter was also a priest in some kinds of sacrifices "'In the broad place of assembly of this famous place festivals are held, when the old potter wears the garland of Nocci flowers whose clusters look like sapphires and, with his hands fit for making offerings (places them on the ground) and calls (on the demons and the crows to eat them").[26] The magic hand of the potter has not quite lost its cunning even to-day, for when children get herpes, their mothers take them to the potter and he paints all round the eruptions, with his

25 கண்ணி கட்டிய கதிர வன்ன
வொண்குர னொச்சித் தெரியல்சூடி
யாறுகிடந் தன்ன வகனெடுந் தெருவிற்
சாறென நுவலு முதுவாய் குயவ
விதுவு மாங்க ணுவன்றிசின் மாதோ
வாம்ப லமன்ற தீம்பெரும் பழனத்துப்
பொய்கை யூர்க்குப் போவே யாகிக்
கைகவர் நரம்பிற் பனுவற் பாணன்
செய்த வல்லல் பல்குவ வையெயிற்
றைதக லல்குன் மகளிரிவன்
பொய்பொதி கொடுஞ்சொ லோம்புமி னெனவே.

Nar. 220.

26 மணிக்குர னொச்சித் தெரியல் சூடிப்
பலிக ளார்கைப் பார்முது குயவ
னிடுபலி நுவலு மகன்றலை மன்றத்து
விழவுத்தலைக் கொண்ட பழவிறன் மூதூர்.

Nar. 293, ll. 1—4.

stick dipped in a solution of red ochre, the figure of the imaginary beast called yāḷi, and the children are rid of the disease—in a few days!

The washing and starching of clothes was not felt by poets to be too humble a subject for poetic treatment. "The washer woman who washes clothes ceaselessly, applies to the fine cloth, decorated with flower-work, starch which has been curdled over night,"[27] The spreading of the ragi on a rock to dry is described by another poet. "Girls who wear on their forearms rows of bangles and (in other parts of the body) beautiful jewels, spread the red panicum on the broad surface of a large rock."[28] Even the spirting of sour buttermilk on boiled milk to make it curdle, affords a simile. "Like the curdling fluid spirted on a pot of milk from the sharp nails of a languid looking cowherdess."[29] The spicing of curry and rice by throwing on it fried aromatics is also frequently referred to.[30]

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27 உடையோர் பான்மையிற் பெருங்கை தூவா
வறனில் புலத்தி யெல்லித் தோய்த்த
புகாப்புகர் கொண்ட புன்பூங் கலிங்கம்.
Naṛ. 90, ll. 2—4.

28 நிரைவளை முன்கை நேரிழை மகளி
ரிருங்கல் வியலறைச் செந்தினை பரப்பி.
Kuṛundogai, 335, ll. 1—2.

29 மடப்பா லாய்மகள் வள்ளுகிர்த் தெறித்த
குடப்பாற் சில்லுறை போல.
Puṛ. 276, ll. 4—5.

30 குய்க்கொள் கொழுந்துவை, 'curry of spiced fat meat,' Puṛ. 160, l. 7.
குய்யுடை யடிசில், 'rice with fried spice thrown on it. Puṛ. 127, l. 7.

The amusements of the boys and girls are frequently referred to by the poets. "Though children cannot enjoy the pleasure of riding in a car made by carpenter and dragged by small horses, they delight in dragging with their hands a toy-cart."[31] "The small sand-house built on the sandy plain by girls whose shadows resemble a double bamboo, while they were bathing in the sea."[32] "Girls with bright bangles throw the pestle, made of black heart-wood with which they have bruised rice flat, on the paddy separated from stalks and play with clay."[33] "With her unrivalled companions, she played in the water of the spring and her large, cool eyes became red on account of the play of the waves."[34] Swinging was another popular amusement; ("she got on) the hanging swing made of the black fibres of the palm well twined, and it was

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[31] தச்சன் செய்த சிறுமா வைய
மூர்ந்தின் புறாஅ ராயினுங் கையி
னீர்த்தின் புறூஉ மிளையோர்.

Kur̤. 61. ll. 1-3.

[32] துணைத்த தோகைப் பணைப்பெருந் தோளினர்
கடலாடு மகளிர் கான லிழைத்த
சிறுமனை.

Ib. 326. ll. 1-3.

[33] பாசவ லிடித்த கருங்கா ழுலக்கை
யாய்கதிர் நெல்லின் வரம்பணைத் துயிற்றி
யொண்டொடி மகளிர் வண்ட லயரும்.

Ib. 238. ll. 1-3.

[34] பொருவிர லாயமோ டருவி யாடி
நீரலைச் சிவந்த பேரமர் மழைக்கண்.

Nar̤. 44, ll. 1-2.

swayed to and fro by her playmates who had flower-like eyes."[35]

"Boys who have not gone to school draw, under the spotted shade of the neem tree, rectangles with a pebble like the assay-stone (of the goldsmith), and with the fruit of the Nelli as a ball, play the game called pāṇḍil."[36] "Girls with short bangles (spread) the nuts of the kaḻangu (Guilandina bonduce) on the sanded floor in front of their houses to play with them."[37] A certain girls' game frequently referred to is the ōrai. A doll is made of sedge-grass and decked with flowers and used in the play by a party of girls of the mullai tract.[38] Another girls' game is that called alliyam. Two dolls, one male and the other female, were used in this game.[39]

Superstitions :

Now for a few superstitions which prevailed among the people. As now, so in those old days, the crow announced by its cries that a guest was coming to the house. "The sweet food made from the white rice

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[35] பெருங்கயிறு நாலு மிருமபனம் பிணையற்
பூங்க ணாய மூக்க.

Naṟ. 90. ll. 6-7.

[36] வேம்பின் புள்ளி நீழற்
கட்டளை யன்ன வட்டரங் கிழைத்துக்
கல்லாச் சிறாஅர் நெல்லிவட் டாடும்.

Naṟ. 3. ll 2-4.

[37] நன்மனைக் குறுந்தொடி மகளிர்
மணலாடு கழங்கு.

Naṟ. 79. ll. 2-3.

[38] Naṟ. 155. l. 1, 68, l. 1, Puṟ. 176. l. 1.

[39] Puṟ. 33. l. 17.

grown all round Toṇḍi, mixed with the ghi given by the many cattle of the herdsmen living in the forests of Naḷḷi of the strong car, was placed on a plate as a small offering to the crow that announced the arrival of the lover on whose account the strong shoulders of my companion have become lean."[40] Belief in omens was rampant. The directions of the flight, and the cries, of birds indicated the future success or failure of attempts. "(Poets) will blame the hour of starting and the indications of birds" when they do not get reward[41]. Demons were believed to reside in trees and, in the grave yards;[42] demonesses frequented battle-fields, dug (with their fingers) into the wounds of the fallen and combed their hair with red, bloody fingers and hence looked red.[43] "Demonesses embraced the dead

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40 திண்டேர் நள்ளி கானத் தண்டர்
பல்லா பயந்த நெய்யிற் றொண்டி
முழுதுடன் விளைந்த வெண்ணெல் வெஞ்சோ
றொருகலத் தேந்தினுஞ் சிறிதென் றோழி
பெருந்தோ ணெகிழ்த்த செல்வற்கு
விருந்துவரக் கரைந்த காக்கை யதுபலியே.

Kuṛ. 210.

41 புள்ளும் பொழுதும் பழித்தல்.

Puṛ. 204. l. 10.

42 பேஎயா யமொடு பெட்டாங்கு வழங்குங்
காடு.

Puṛ. 238. ll. 4-5.

43 பொருதாண் டொழிந்த மைந்தர்ப் புண்டொட்டுக்
குருதிச் செங்கைக் கூந்த நீட்டி
நிறங்கிள ருருவிற் பேஎய்ப் பெண்டிர்.

Ib. 62. ll. 2-4.

and ate the white flesh.[44] Devils possessed Pulaiya women; then they jumped about like cattle.[45] The best way to drive it away was to burn white mustard.[46] They also "cut the throat of a goat, placed a dish of millets, sounded many musical instruments in the high road, blessed the demon along with others which have not possessed the girl, and proclaimed that the girl had been possessed by a devil."[47] The demons are fond of raw human flesh and blood; so they surround wounded warriors even when alive and once they touch the raw wound, it will refuse to heal and the man dies soon. To prevent devils from touching the wound of a man his wife, "sticks into the roof the leaves of the sweet-fruited ironwood tree (iravam) and of the margosa, gets the bent-trunked yāḷ and other musical instruments to be sounded, slowly lifts her hands and rubs (the house) with lumps of blacking, scatters mustard all over, gets flutes to be blown, bells to be rung, and the tune called Kāñji to be sung, and smokes

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[44] பேஎய் மகளிர் பிணந்தழூஉப் பற்றி
விளருன் றின்ற வெம்புலால்.
Ib. 359. ll. 4-5.

[45] முருகுமெய்ப் பட்ட புலைத்தி போலத்
தாவுபு தெறிக்கும்.
Ib. 259. ll. 5-6.

[46] ஐயவி புகைப்பவும.
Ib. 98. l. 15.

[47] மறிக்குர லறுத்துத் தினைப்பிரப் பிரீஇச்
செல்லாற்றுக் கவலைப் பல்லியங் கறங்கத்
தோற்ற மல்லது நோய்க்கு மருந்தாகா
வேற்றுப் பெருந்தெய்வம் பலவுடன் வாழ்த்தி
பேய்க்கோ ளீஇய வளெனப் படுதல்.
Kuṛ. 263. ll. 1-5.

the whole of the house with sweet-smelling incense."[48]

Religious rites:

The ancient rites of worship have been referred to in chapter V and described in great detail in my Pre-Aryan Tamil culture.[49] Besides the gods recounted there, other divinities were worshipped by the ancient Tamils. The moon was one such. "Like the lamp on a boat in the middle of the ocean the red star twinkles in the broad sky.[50] In its zenith stands the full moon, on seeing which the danseuse who wears small bangles and stands in the norrow path like the peacock in the forest as well as myself quickly worshipped it, did we not? .... For we thought that the moon resembled the white umbrella of the King." [51]

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[48] தீங்கனி யிரவமொடு வேம்பு மனைச்செரீஇ
வாங்குமருப் பியாழொடு பல்லியங் கறங்கக்
கைபயப் பெயர்த்து மையிழு திழுகி
யையவி சிதறி யாம்ப லூதி
யிசைமணி யெறிந்து காஞ்சி பாடி
நெடுநகர் வரைப்பிற் கடிநறை புகைஇ.

Puṛ. 281, ll. 1—6.

[49] Ib. pp. 2I—31

[50] மாகவிசும்பு rendered here the broad sky, is an obscure phrase, variously interpreted by various commentators, and not explained by the commentator of Puṛam. It occurs only in late poems, such as Puṛam 35, l. 18, Agam 253, l. 24, Maduraikkāñji, l.454, Paripāḍal, 47.

[51] மூந்நீர் நாம்பட் டிமிற்சுடர் போலச்
செம்மீ னிமைக்கு மாக விசும்பி
னுச்சி நின்ற வுவவுமதி கண்டு
கட்சி மஞ்ஞையிற் சுரமுதல் சேர்ந்த

Feeding the crow was a daily religious rite practised in every home. "In the midday the sun shines so hot that the feet of walkers are scorched. For feeding the guests who may come to the big, rich town, ladies, who wear gold bangles, cook food and place rice resembling the claws of the crane in the yard as offerings to crows. The green-eyed crows eat it and in the evening go to the broad fish-bazaar for picking the fresh prawns heaped up in the shifting shade and then perch on the mast tied to the idle boats that are tossing in the wind."[52]

The major religious rites in ancient days were compounded of sacrifices, ritual music and ritual dancing. One such is referred to in the following:— "The God Murugan shines in the little village on the sides of the high hill where the white rivulet sounds. The men wear clusters of Vēṅgai flowers dripping with honey and along with their women dance in the streets

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சில்வளை விறலியும் யானும் வல்விரைந்து
தொழுதன மல்லமோ . . . . . .
, ... வளவன்
மாலை வெண்குடை யொக்குமா லெனவே.

Puṛ. 60. 1—6, 10-12.

[52] கதிர்கால் வெம்பக் கல்காய் ஞாயிற்றுத்
திருவுடை வியனகர் வருவிருந் தயர்மார்
பொற்றொடி மகளிர் புறங்கடை யுகுத்த
கொக்குகிர் நிமிரன் மாந்தி யெற்பட
வகலங் காடி யசை நிழற் குவித்த
பச்சிறாக் கவர்ந்த பசுங்கட் காக்கை
தூங்கல் வங்கத்துக் கூம்பிற் சேக்கும்

Naṛ. 258. ll. 3-9.

keeping time with the Toṅdaga drum."[53] "The rocky floor of the yard in front of the small village surrounded by hills is beautifully strewn with the golden flowers smelling sweet and blown from the gem-like buds of the Vēṅgai tree under which the village assembly is held. There the Kuṟavar with their matrons dance the Kuravai dance and very noisily celebrate the festival."[54]

In another poem it is said, "the fish move below the water, on the surface of the water blossoms the blue lily which is like the eye; on the fertile fields surrounded by channels the birds are driven away by the sound of the drum. From the long canal where sounds the cool water on the sand, the slow flying young bird flies away, for the Kōśar drink the sweet liquor with delight and dance the

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53 கறங்குவெள் ளருவி பிறங்குமலைக் கவாஅற்
றேங்கம ழிணர வேங்கை சூடித்
தொண்டகப் பறைச்சீர் பெண்டிரொடு விரைஇ
மறுகிற் றூங்குஞ் சிறுகுடிப் பாக்கத்
தியன் முருகு.

Agam. 118. ll. 1-5.

54 சிறுகுடியாங்கண்
மன்ற வேங்கை மணநாட் பூத்த
மணியே ரரும்பின் பொன்வீ தாஅய்
வியலறை வரிக்கு முன்றிற் குரவர்
மனைமுதிர் மகளி ரொடு குரவை தூங்கு
மார்கலி விழவு.

Agam. 232. ll. 6-11.

Kuravai."[55] This dance of the Kōśar, who were great warriors, was a military dance. A more fierce military Kuravai dance is thus described:—" The thatch of dangling stalks of red paddy spread on straight rushes shone in different ways like a field on which a festival is celebrated. In the broad place sounding with a noise greater than that of the pestle constantly pounding corn, the angry warriors who wore the yellow war-garland of flowers with petals made of gold and inserted (in their ears) a waving ear-ornament of the palmyra leaf, dance the Kuravai and make a noise greater than that of the sea."[56]

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[55] கீழ்நீ ரான் மீன்வழங்குந்து
மீநீராற் கண்ணன்ன மலர் பூக்குந்து
கழிசுற்றிய விளைகழனி
யரிப்பறையாற் புள்ளோப்புந்து
நெடுநீர் கூஉ மணற்றண்கான்
மென்பறையாற் புள்ளிரியுந்து
நனைக்கள்ளின் மனைக்கோசர்
தீந்தேற னறவுமகிழ்ந்து
தீங்குரவைக் கொளைதாங்குந்து

Puṛ. 396. ll. 1-9.

[56] வலங்கு செந்நெற் கதிர் வேய்ந்த
வாய் கரும்பின் கொடிக்கூரை
சாறுகொண்ட களம்போல
வேறுவேறு பொலிவுதோன்றக்
குற்றானா வுலக்கையாற்
கலிச்சும்மை வியலாங்கட்
பொலந்தோட்டுப் பைந்தும்பை
மிசையலங் குளைய பனைப்போழ் செரீஇச்
சினமாந்தர் வெறிக்குரவை
யோத நீரிற் பெயர்பு பொங்க.

Ib. 22. ll. 14-23.

In the V century A. D. Aryan culture burst like a flood into the Tamil mind and altered every phase of life: music and dancing among other activities, were affected by it; very soon the tunes of the ancient Tamils gave way to the artificial and elaborate melody-types of the Aryans and their primitive dances were superseded by complicated ones divided into various classes. The original dance was either the exposition of ideas of love and war by gesture unaccompanied by words or pure dancing as a part of religious ritual. With the infusion of the Aryan culture several forms of the art were developed, and grammars on the subjects of music and dancing were composed. Those books are now lost; but the Śilappadigāram contains many references to the arts as practised by professional artists and its commentary describe them in great detail. The original place of dancing was the open field (manṛam); but this was superseded by a stage which is elaborately described in the third canto of the epic. But these changes took place in towns and not in villages.

Towns:

After the great development of trade with Roma, towns became wealthy and prosperous. In one ode of the Agam the Sōḻa, Pāṇḍiya and Śēra capitals, are briefly described. "For the purpose of obtaining jewels I have finished a task such as all people will approve of. Those jewels are as hard to obtain as is Uraiyūr which has an assembly for maintaining justice. This town of Uṛaiyūr belongs to the Sōḻas who when they fight wear a garland (of the leaves and flowers) of the ātti (Bauhinea Racemosa) and who rescue their relatives from harm, elevate their kindred and who desire and strive to

turn enemies into friends. My black-hued sweetheart has a sweet-smelling forehead and long black locks emitting scent like the bazaar street of Madura which belongs to the Pāṇḍiyan who wears an evergreen garland of margosa leaves and who possesses an army which can defeat foes who have crossed their several forts. The large town of Karūr is filled with the wealth of the Śēran who possesses numerous war-chariots and a brigade of elephants in rut, full of the fierce ardour necessary for piercing the enemy's ranks and possessed of terrible arms and strength, able certainly to kill the foes, and with a wrinkled face. In this Karūr may I embrace my mistress in the lamplight on a soft matress of flowers resembling gathered foam, placed in a house which is so tall as to reach the sky and looks like a tunnelled hill. May I embrace her so tight that her jewels will leave a stamp on her breast, more often than there are sands heaped up on the banks of the clear-watered Anporunai river in the principal ford of Karūr.[57]

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57 கேள்கே டேன்றவுங் கிளைஞ ராகவுங்
கேளல் கேளிர் கெழீஇயின ரொழுகவு
மாள்வினைக் கெதிரிய வூக்கமொடு புகல்சிறந்
தாரங் கண்ணி யடுபோர்ச் சோழ
ரறங்கெழு நல்லவை யுறந்தை யன்ன
பெறலரு நன்கல னெய்தி நாடுஞ்
செயலருஞ் செய்வினை முற்றின மாயி
னரண்பல கடந்த முரண்கொ டானை
வாடா வேம்பின் வழுதி கூட
ஞளங் காடி நாறு நறுநுத
னீளிருங் கூந்தன் மாஅ யோளொடு
வரைகுயின் றன்ன வான்றோய் நெடுநகர்

Towns increased in importance because kings resided there and the wealth and importance of kings increased with the expansion of towns. The three kings of the Tamil land began to wage wars with each other, not as in old times as an amusement for idle days or as a means of establishing personal prowess but for the purpose of extending their dominions and becoming the suzerain lords of other kings. Hence the poems of this age celebrate the military exploits of kings, though the praise of royal generosity still continues. "You, born in a line of excellent and famous heroes, who decorated the heads of bards with faded lotus-flowers made of the gold, from the face-plates of the elephants of your enemies; oh lord of Muḷḷūr, which has such dark groves, that the night stays always in them, and rivulets which sound like the drum, may you live long with your invincible retinue of relatives! Kabilan, the Brāhmaṇa of spotless intellect, superior to that of all other men on the earth, has praised you so well that no other beggar bard has anything more to say.

நுரைமுகந் தன்ன மென்பூஞ் சேக்கை
நிவந்த பள்ளி நெடுஞ்சுடர் விளக்கத்து
நலங்கே ழாகம் பூண்வடுப் பொறிப்ப
முயங்குகஞ் சென்மோ நெஞ்சே வரிநுதல்
வயந்திகழ் பிமிழ்தரும் வாய்புகு கடாத்து
மீளி மொய்ம்பொடு நிலனெறியாக் குறுகி
யாட்கோட் பிழையா வஞ்சுவரு தடக்கைக்
கடும்பகட் டியானை நெடுந்தேர்க் கோதை
திருமா வியனகர்க் கருவூர் முன்றுறைத்
தெண்ணீ ருயர்கரைக் குவைஇய
தண்ணான் பொருநை மணலினும் பலவே.

Agam, 93.

Just as other ships cannot approach the western ocean, where the ships of the Śēran, who possesses an army of fierce warriors, bring him gold, so we cannot approach (Kabilan in poetic powers); yet, whether we are learned or unlearned, we have praised as well as we could but a small bit of your excellences, for having our distresses relieved; you are the lord of the land near the Peṇṇaiyāṟu, where your drum roars like the thunder which terrifies the serpent whose teeth are like thorns, and, along with your powerful elephants, you stay the rush of your unequal enemies and scatter them on the battle-field whose noise is difficult to bear." [58]

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58 ஒன்னார் யானை யோடைப்பொன் கொண்டு
பாணர் சென்னி பொலியத் தைஇ
வாடாத் தாமரை சூட்டிய விழுச்சீ
ரோடாப் பூட்கை யுரவோன் மருக
வல்லே மல்லே மாயினும் வல்லே
நின்வயிர் கிளக்குவ மாயிற் கங்கு
றுயின்மடந் தன்ன தூங்கிரு ளிறும்பிற்
பறையிசை யருவி முள்ளூர்ப் பொருந
தெறலரு மரபினின் கிளையொடும் பொலிய
நிலமிசைப் பரந்த மக்கட் கெல்லாம்
புலனழுக் கற்ற வந்த ணாள
னிரந்துசென் மாக்கட் கினியிட னின்றிப்
பரந்திசை நிற்கப் பாடின னதற்கொண்டு
சினமிகு தானை வானவன் குடகடற்
பொலந்தரு நாவா யோட்டிய வவ்வழிப்
பிறகலஞ் செல்கலா தனையே மத்தை
யின்மை துரப்ப விசைதர வந்துநின்
வண்மையிற் றொடுத்தனம் யாமே முள்ளெயிற்
றரவெறி யுருமின் முரசெழுந் தியம்ப

War was still regarded as the sacrifice of blood to the war-drum, or rather the spirit resident therein. The drum was placed on a special seat reserved for it. Says a poem:—"The war-drum was taut by being bound faultlessly with strips of leather. Its black sides were bright, being made of black wood. It was decorated with the bright plumes of the peacock, and the uḻiñai (Oerna lanater) flower whose golden petals are streaked and covered with spots which are blue like sapphire. The thundering drum desires the sacrifice of blood. Its seat is covered with flowers which appear like the foam of oil scattered."[59] The hankering for the older victory-sacrifiee to the demons was still rooted strong in the minds of the Tamil kings, so that even after the relatively milder Vedic sacrifices were instituted at the end of this age, a poet thought it necessary to eulogise a great Pāṇḍiya warrior-king as follows:—"As the ship tears the waters of the deep sea when the wind blows upon it, so the elephant splits the

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வண்ணல் யானையொடு வேந்துகளத் தொழிய
வருஞ்சமந் ததையத் தாக்கி நன்று
நண்ணாத் தெவ்வர்த் தாங்கும்
பெண்ணையம் படப்பை நாடுகிழ வோயே.

Puṛ 126.

[59] மாசற விசித்த வார்புறு வள்பின்
மைபடு மருங்குல் பொலிய மஞ்ஞை
யொலிநெடும் பீலி யொண்பொறி மணித்தார்
பொலங்குழை யுழிஞையொடு பொலியச் சூட்டிக்
குருதி வேட்கை யுருசெழு முரச
மண்ணி வாரா வளவை யெண்ணெய்
நுரைமுகந் தன்ன மேன்பூஞ் சேக்கை.

Puṛ. 50. ll. 1-7.

enemy's ranks into two. In the broad space thus produced on the battle-field, you bore the spear with the shining broad point and killed the king and threw his army into confusion. You earned fame by capturing his war-drum. You arranged crowned heads like the stones of a hearth, used the blood-stream as water in which to boil, poured on it (the foes') brawn and brain, stirred it with your arms which wore the gauntlet of heroes as a spoon, and offered the food thus cooked to the demons."[60]

Harlotry in Towns:

Town life means the growth of civilization, in its literal as well as its figurative sense. One unmistakble, if unenviable, mark of civilization is the institution of harlotry. Harlots wəra trained to sing and dance and were attractively dressed and beautifully decked. "The viṛali (dancing woman) had a forelap, high and broad, which shone with rows of gems, languid looking eyes

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60 நளிகட லிருங்குட்டத்து
வளிபுடைத்த கலம்போலக்
களிறுசென்று களனகற்றவுங்
களனகற்றிய வியலாங்க
ணொளிறிலைய வெஃகேந்தி
யரைசுபட வமருழக்கி
யுரைசெல முரசுவெளவி
முடித்தலை யடுப்பாகப்
புனற்குருதி யுலைக்கொளீஇத்
தொடிதோட் டுடுப்பிற் றுழந்த வல்சியி
னடுகளம் வேட்ட வடுபோர்ச் செழிய.

Puṛ. 26. ll. 1-11.

painted with collyrium, and a bright face."[61] They induced susceptible husbands to play with them in rivers or tanks. One harlot, confident of her powers of charming the husband, sent the following arrogant message to the wife. "We shall insert the stiff buds of the lily in our hair and go to the big ford for playing in the flood. If she is afraid of us, let her guard her husband's breast, along with her relations, as many as the soldiers of Eḻini (a petty chief) of many spears with which he changed the front ranks in the fields of battle."[62] These women swarmed, where festivals were celebrated, to tempt men. "The beaver sleeps without hunting the Vāḷai fish which looks like a sword when it rolls in the tank of the town of Veṇṇi belonging to the generous Śōḻa king. Let me decorate my broad forelap with the stiff leaves of the lily-plant growing in the fields surrounding that town and repair to the place of festival. For if the lord of this fertile place

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61 இறைபணிப் பொலிந்த வேந்துகோட் டல்குன்
மடவர லூண்கண் வாணுதல் விறலி.

Puṛ. 89, ll, 1-2.

62 கூந்த லாம்பன் முழுநெறி யடைச்சிப்
பெரும்புனல் வந்த விருந்துறை விரும்பி
யாமஃ தயர்கஞ் சேறுந் தானஃ
தஞ்சுவை துடைய ளாயின் வெம்போர்
நுகம்படக் கடக்கும் பல்வே லெழினி
முனையான் பெருநிரை போலக்
கிளையொடு காக்கதன் கொழுநன் மார்பே.

Kuṛ. 80.

happens to see this bright young girl, he will not fail to marry her".[63]

When these harlots went about the streets on the war-path, husbands had to be carefully guarded. Thus the foster-sister warns her friends who form the companions of the heroine of a poem. "This viṟali, with languid looks, with her hair scented with unguents, broad shoulders, straight, white teeth, rounded thighs pressing each other, and the beautiful garment of leaves, has come by herself making the festival-yard bright with her presence. Rise, rise and guard our dear one from her seductions."[64] Here is another passage describing the predatory pursuits of dancing women. "The festival is over. The drums are sleeping. I will tell you what this woman is contemplating to do. One day this young woman wore

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63 வாளை வாளிற் பிறழ நாளும்
பொய்கை நீர்நாய் வைகுதுயி லேற்குங்
கைவண் கிள்ளி வெண்ணி சூழ்ந்த
வயல்வெள் ளாம்ப லுருவ நெறித்தழை
யைதக லல்கு லணிபெறத் தைஇ
விழவிற் செலீஇயர் வேண்டு மன்னோ
யாண ரூரன் காணுந னாயின்
வரையா மையோ வரிதே.

Naṛ. 390. ll. 1-8.

64 மடக்கண் டகரக் கூந்தற் பணைத்தோள்
வார்ந்த வாலெயிற்றுச் சேர்ந்துசெறி குறங்கிற்
பிணைய லந்தழைத் தைஇத் துணையிலள்
விழவுக்களம் பொலிய வந்துநின் றனளே
எழுமினோ வெழுமினெங் கொழுநற் காக்கம்.

Naṛ. 170, ll. 1—5.

the leaf-garland waving over her forelap and walked along the streets. The whole town laughed with as much noise as rose when Kāri who killed Ori, the famous warrior, entered the street and his enemies shouted; when the noise of laughter was heard the women, who wore bright bangles and whose complexion was like, in colour, to the tender mango leaves, guarded their husbands."[65]

Resorting to hetairae caused domestic broils. The quarrel between a husband and his wife, called ūḍal, is a well-known subject of poems belonging to the class called marudam. The following ode is devoted to this incident. The injured wife says, "Frightened by the noise of the drum beaten by the agricultural labourers who reap the white paddy-stalk, the birds in the fields rise and fly away; hence the marudam tree, which grows in the fields and has bent boughs, sheds its flower-clusters, in the village of Iruppai, which belongs to Virān, who gives gifts of chariots. Even if my beauty, which resembles that of this place be similarly destroyed, I will not let you approach me; if I let you do

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[65] விழவு முழந்தன்று முழவுந் தூங்கின்
றெவன்குறித் தனள்கொ லென்றி யாயிற்
றழையணிந் தலமரு மல்குற் றெருவி
னிளையோ ளிறந்த வனைத்தற்குப் பழவிற
லோரிக் கொன்ற வொருபெருந் தெருவிற்
காரி புக்க நேரார் புலம்போற்
கல்லென் றன்றா லூரே யதற்கொண்டு
காவல் செறிய மாட்டி யாய்தொடி
யெழின் மாமேனி மகளிர்
விழுமாந் தனர்தங் கொழுநரைக் காத்தே.

Nar. 320.

so, my enclosed hands will embrace you. The sandal paste daubed on the strong round breasts (of your harlot) sticks to you. Your garland is faded. Hence to touch you is like touching a pot discarded for pollution. Do not come (near me). May the woman who stands in the street live long.'[66] Sometimes the wife condoned the husband's fault. "Come, bard, my wife who is wearing beautiful jewels gave to my house a son and heir; she was then anointed with ghi, with many mustard seeds sparkling in it. I approached her timidly and said to her, you lie on the mat, brightening the house (with your presence). You have become the mother of a son; your name has changed (from maid) to matron and you have beautiful lines on your forelap. I then pressed her blessed belly with lily flowers; she looked at me, smiled so as to display her jasmine-like teeth and covered with her hands her eyes painted with collyrium, and I laughed with joy; now she is angry with me."[67] But at other times her fury could

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66 வெண்ணெ லரிநர் தண்ணுமை வெரீஇப்
பழனப் பல்புள் ளிரியக் கழனி
வாங்குசினை மருதத் தூங்குதுண ருதிருந்
தேர்வண் விராஅ ளிருப்பை யன்னவென்
றொல்கவின் றொலையினுந் தொலைக சார
விடேஎன் விடுக்குவ னாயிற் கடைஇக்
கவவுக்கை தாங்கு மதுகையங் குவவுமுலை
சாடிய சாந்தினை வாடிய கோதையை
யாகில் கலங்கழீஇ யற்றும்
வாரல் வாழிய கவைஇநின் றோளே.

Nar. 350.

67 வாராய் பாண நகுகம் நேரிழை
கடும்புடைக் கடுஞ்சூ னங்குடிக் குதவி
நெய்யோ டிமைக்கு மையவித் திரள்காழ்

not be abated; and if the husband sent his bard-friend to bring about a reconciliation, it was of no use. The wife said "Bard, my clothes are stinking of ghi and the smoke of fried spices; and stained with the eye-paint of my son and with dirt. My shoulders have evil smell, because I carry my baby dripping with sweet milk from my breasts which are full of beauty-spots. Hence I am unfit to meet my husband who is riding about in a car in the streets where well-bedecked harlots reside. Hence take away your lord of many cool fords. You are skilful in playing upon the yāḻ, the sweet-toned strings of which are like gold, but do not sing to me. The horses of the chariot which have stood for a long time, (are restive and) resent your standing here singing to me. Do not speak to me vain words which do not please me".[68] This contumary of the wife is explained

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விளங்குநகர் விளங்கக் கிடந்தோட் குறுகிப்
புதல்வ னீன்றெனப் பெயர்பெயர்த் தவ்வரித்
திதலை யல்குன் முதுபெண் டாகித்
துஞ்சுதி யோமெல் லஞ்சி லோதியெனப்
பன்மா ணகட்டிற் குவளை யொற்றி
யுள்ளினெ னுறையு மெற்கண்டு மெல்ல
முகை நாண் முறுவ லேற்றித்
தகைமல ருண்கண் புதைத்து வந்ததுவே.

Nar. 370.

8 நெய்யுங் குய்யு மாடி மையொடு
மாசுபட் டன்றே கலிங்கமுந் தோளுந்
திதலைமென் முலைத் தீம்பால் பிலிற்றப்
புதல்வர்ப் புல்லிப் புனிறுநா றும்மே
வாலிழை மகளிர் சேரித் தோன்றுந்
தேரோற் கொத்தனெ மல்லே மதனாற்
பொன்புனை நரம்பி னின்குரற், சீறியா

by the fact that there was no limit to the follies of men caught in the toils of these women of easy virtue. Thus reports the foster-sister to the neglected wife. "Lady with the sweet-smelling forehead, I foolishly thought that I could catch him when he was wearing earrings, garlands, and short golden bangles and, in the festival, dancing the Tuṇaṅgai along with girls; he came upon me by a long circuitous road at the end of the long, straight street and I said, 'will no one take notice of your conduct'. He pretended to be a stranger to me and said that my pale colour made me look fair. I replied, 'get away, you shameless man' and have returned to you. His haughtiness was such as to charm even enemies."[69] The Tuṇaṅgai was a dance in which

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ழெழாஅல் வல்லை யாயினுந் தொழாஅல்
கொண்டுசெல் பாணநின் றண்டுறை யூரனைப்
பாடுமனைப் பாடல் கூடாது நீடுநிலைப்
புரவியும் பூணிலை முனிகுவ
விரகில் மொழியல்யாம் வேட்டதில் வழியே.

Naṛ. 380.

69 அறியா மையி னன்னை யஞ்சிக்
குழையன் கோதையன் குறும்பைந் தொடியன்
விழவயர் துணங்கை தழூஉகஞ் செல்ல
நெடுநிமிர் தெருவிற் கைபுகு கொடுமிடை
நொதும லாளன் கதுமெனத் தாக்கலின்
கேட்பா ருளர்கொல் லில்லைகொல் போற்றென
யாணது பசலை யென்றன னதனெதிர்
நாணிலை யெலுவ வென்றுவந் திசினே
செறிநரும் விழையும் செம்ம லோனென
நறுநுத லரிவை போற்றேன்
சிறுமை பெருமையிற் காணாது துணிந்தே.

Naṛ. 50.

men and women took part; while they danced, they bent their arms and with them kept beating their sides. It was a dance common to human beings, as well as to demons. "The terrible-gaited demoness gouged the eyes with her fingers so that her sharp nails were covered with gore, and lifted the black head with her bangled hands, sang about the field of victory where the foes were conquered in an open fight, shrugged her shoulders and the carrion-eating demoness danced the Tuṇaṅgai'.[70]

The bard (pāṇan), the dancing men and women (kūttar, kūttiyar), and the harlot (viṛali) generally formed a group and helped each other in the exercise of their professions And they were all patronized largely by kings and chiefs. A group of them once met a chieftain noted for being a great archer. The bard being the head of the group turned to his followers and said "Viṛali, while I sing, beat the drums; tune the yāḻ. Play on the hautboy which has a trunk like the proboscis of an elephant; sound the cymbals; beat the small drum (āguḷi), tap gently the padalai (another kind of drum) on one side. Give me the rod of cassia."[71] It

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[70] உருகெழு செலவி னஞ்சுவரு பேய்மகள்
குருதி யாடிய கூருகிர்க் கொடுவிரற்
கண்டொட் டுண்ட கழிமுடைக் கருந்தலை
யொண்டொடித் தடக்கையி னேந்தி வெருவர
வென்றடு விறற்களம் பாடித் தோள்பெயரா
நிணந்தின வாய டுணங்கை தூங்க.

Tirumur. 51-56.

[71] பாடுவல் விறலி யோர்வண்ண நீரு
மண்முழா வமைமின் பண்யாழ் நிறுமின்
கண்விடு தூம்பிற் களிற்றுயிர் தொடுமின்

is needless to add that the chief plied them amply with meat and drink and gave them gold; in the words of the bard, "He gave them the boiled fat flesh of the deer he killed with his arrow, liquor which looked like melted cows' ghi, and good gold and heaps of gems born in his mountain."[72]

Seaports:

With the great development of trade with Rome in the very beginning of the Christian era, seaport towns rose to great importance, and so were mentioned in poems. The northern-most port of the East coast to be so mentioned is Māvilaṅgai, probably identical with what later was called Mallai and still later, Mahābalipuram. "It possesses water-ways which sound always; the girls with bright bangles, crowded together for playing ōrai, stired the dark mud which the hog had turned up and got from there the turtle-eggs smelling of flesh and the tuber of the lily smelling of honey."[73]

னெல்லரி தொடுமி னாகுளி தொடுமின்
பதலை யொருகண் பையென வியக்குமின்
மதலை மாக்கோல் கைவந் தருமின்.

Pur. 152, ll. 13-15.

72 வேட்டத்திற்
றானுயிர் செகுத்த மானிணப் புழுக்கோ
டானுருக் கன்ன வேரியை நல்கித்
தன்மலைப் பிறந்த தாவி னன்பொன்
பன்மணிக் குவை யொடும்.

Ib. ll. 25-29.

73 ஓரை யாயத் தொண்டொடி மகளிர்
கேழ லுழுத விருஞ்சேறு கிளைப்பின்
யாமையீன் புலவு நாறு முட்டையைத்
தேனா றாம்பற் கிழங்கொடு பெறூஉ
மிழுமென வொலிக்கும் புனலம் புதவிற்
பெருமா விலங்கை.

Pur. 176, ll. 1-6.

This place is also described as one "whose shores are struck by beams of sweet-flowered nāgam (calophyllum longifolium), agallochum (agil), and sandal wood, which form floats for the shoulders of girls bathing in the flood. The old, great Ilaṅgai cannot be destroyed by any".[74]

At the mouth of the Kāviri stood Pugār or Kāviripp-pūmbaṭṭṇam, famous from ancient days. It is therefore mentioned in various poems. Pugār had such a good harbour that "big ships could enter it without changing the mast and sails or (being, eased by) its heavy load being taken off; and labourers could throw (the goods coming from the sea) in the middle of the street".[75] "Pugār belongs to prosperous kings who derive revenue from (goods landed on) the expansive seashore where is spread white sand heaped up by the sand-shoals caused by the sand brought by the great Kāviri which has broad fords, where flowers open out and in which water flows fast. In this town surrounded by tanks, brides, after beautifying the yard under the banyan tree where resides the three-eyed Lord of the old books of the four vedas whose blessed sounds spread throughout

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74 நறுவீ நாகமு மகிலு மாரமுந்
துறையாடு மகளிர்க்குத் தோட்புணை யாகிய
பொருபுன றரூஉம் போக்கரு மரபிற்
றொன்மா விலங்கை.

Sirupāṇ. ll. 116-119.

75 மீப்பாய் களையாது மிசைப்பரந் தோண்டாது
புகாஅர்ப் புகுந்த பெருங்கலந் தகாஅ
ரிடைப்புலப் பெருவழிச் சொரியும்.

Puṛ. 30. ll. 11-13.

the world, make images with their hands and drop them in the ford. The mansions of this town, which has battlements reaching the sky and a gateway with a top like the (imaginary beast) Magaram, are as tall as the sky." "The town on the broad (banks of) the renowned Kāviri in the midst of long-salt marches where flowers grow."[77]

Puṛaiyāṛu (or Puṛandai) was another East coast port, described in two odes.

"During the night when the big waves are roaring and the clouds are motionless, the lamp set at Puṛandai, by the fishermen who hunt for fat fish, to remove the darkness of the black sea, shines like the bright light placed on the moving face-plate of the elephant which waves its trunk in the camp of the king who wears jewels on his arms. Puṛandai has on

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[76] பூவிரி யகன்றுறைக் கணைவிசைக் கடுநீர்க்
காவிரி பேரியாற் றயிர்கொண் டீண்டி
யெக்க ரிட்ட குப்பை வெண்மணல்
வைப்பின் யாணர் வளங்கெழு வேந்தர்
ஞால நாறு நலங்கெழு நல்லிசை
நான்மறை முதுநூல் முக்கட் செல்வ
னால முற்றங் கவின்பெறத் தைஇப்
பொய்கை சூழ்ந்த பொழின்மனை மகளிர்
கைசெய் பாவை துறைக்க ணிறுக்கு
மகர நெற்றி வான்றோய் புரிசைச்
சிகரந் தோன்றாச் சேணுயர் நல்லிற்
புகாஅர்.

Agam. 181. ll. 11-22.

[77] பூவிரி நெடுங்கழி நாப்பட் பெரும்பெயர்க்
காவிரிப் படப்பை பட்டினம்.

Agam. 205. ll. 11-12,

its beach groves of the Alexandrian laurel on which flowers grow in clusters ; its chief is Periyan, the great patron of singers to 'whose chariot horses are yoked." The harbour of Puṟandai, in the midst of groves of the screw pine, is very noisy..'[78] "Poṟaiyāṟu, which is smelling of toddy, whose chief is Periyan who is sitting on his beautiful chariot, after having drunk sweet-smelling toddy."[79]

Koṟkai was the chief seaport of the Pāṇḍyas. "In the broad expanse of the sea near this harbour of Koṟkai grow pearls of excellent water."[80] "The valiantly fighting Pāṇḍiyar guard with justice the fair, large port of Koṟkai which produces pearls."[81] "Koṟkai belongs to the

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78 பெருந்திரை முழக்கமொ டியக்கவிந் திருந்த
கொண்ட லிரவி னிருங்கடன் மடுத்த
கொழுமீன் கொள்பவ ரிருணீங் கொண்சுட
ரோடாப் பூட்கை வேந்தன் பாசறை
யாடியல் யானை யணிமுகத் தசைத்த
வோடை யொண்சுட ரொப்பத் தோன்றும்
பாடுநர்த் தொடுத்த கைவண் கோமான்
பரியுடை நற்றேர்ப் பெரியன் விரியிணர்ப்
புன்னையங் கானற் புறந்தை முன்றுறை.
Agam. 100. ll. 5-13.

79 நறவுமகி ழிருக்கை நற்றேர்ப் பெரியன்
கட்கமழ் பொறை யாறு.
Nar. 131. ll. 7-8.

80 ஈண்டுநீர்
முத்துப்படு பரப்பிற் கொற்கை முன்றுறை.
Nar. 23. ll. 5-6.

81 மறப்போர்ப் பாண்டிய ரறத்திற் காக்குங்
கொற்கையம் பெருந்துறை முத்து.
Agam. 27. ll. 9-10.

Pāṇḍyiar who possesses a beautiful chariot to which are yoked beautifully trotting horses whose hoof-marks cannot be traced on (the ground covered with) the cool-rayed pearls which the surging waves yield."[82] "The brilliant pearls from the harbour of the famous Koṛkai which belongs to the valiant fighter, the Pāṇḍiyan"[83] "They barter for the sweet-smellig toddy, filtered in the web of the palmyra leaf, the pearl-oysters brought by the men who fish in the broad sea."[84] "The fishermen who from white boats dive into the black sea, avoid the attacks of the shark and bring up the right-whorled chank, blow on the sounding shell and thus a great noise rises in Koṛkai."[85]

The chief Śēra port was Muśiṛi. "The flourishing town of Muśiṛi, where the large, beautiful ships of the

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82 இவர்திரை தந்த வீர்ங்கதிர் முத்தங்
கவர்நடைப் புரவிக் கால்வடுத் தபுக்கு
நற்றேர் வழுதி கொற்கை முன்றுறை.
Agam. 130. ll. 9-11,

83 விறற்போர்ப் பாண்டியன்
புகழ்மலி சிறப்பிற் கொற்கை முன்றுறை
யவிர்கதிர் முத்தம்.
Agam. 201. ll. 3-5.

84 பரப்பிற்
பன்மீன் கொள்பவர் முகந்த விப்பி
நாரரி நறவின் மகிழ்கொடைக் கூட்டும்.
Agam. 296. ll. 7-9.

85 இரும் பரப்பி னெறிசுறா நீக்கி
வலம்புரி மூழ்கிய வான்றிமிற் பரதவ
ரொலிதலைப் பணில மார்ப்பக் கல்லெனக்
கலிகெழு கொற்றை.
Agam. 350. ll. 10-13

Yavanas which bring gold and take pepper, come disturbing the white foam of the little, fair Pēriyāṛu of the Śeralar."[86] "They sell fish and bring on boats heaps of paddy which fill the house. The pepper heaped in the house is put into bags which are thrown in confusion on the noisy beach. The gold brought in the ships are brought ashore in the boats which ply in the backwater. The products of the sea and the mountain are mixed together and are given away to guests. In Muśuṛi which belongs to the Kuṭṭuvan who wears a gold garland and where the roar of the sea is heard, toddy flows like water."[87]

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86 சேரலர்
சுள்ளியம் பேரியாற்று வெண்ணுரை கலங்க
யவனர் தந்த வினைமா ணன்கலம்
பொன்னொடு வந்து கறியொடு பெயரும்
வளங் கெழு முசிறி.

Agam. 149, ll. 7-11.

87 மீனொடுத்து நெற்குவைஇ
மிசையம்பியின் மனைமறுக்குந்து
மனைக்குவைஇய கறிமுடையாற்
கலிச்சும்மைய கரைகலக்குறுந்து
கலந்தந்த பொற்பரிசங்
கழித்தோணியாற் கரைசேர்க்குந்து
மலைத்தாரமுங் கடற்றாரமுந்
தலைப்பெய்து வருநர்க்கீயும்
புனலங் கள்ளின் பொலந்தார்க் குட்டுவன்
முழங்குகடன் முழவின் முசுறி.

Pur. 343, ll. 1-10.

It may be noted that the place is called here Muśuṛi. Certain lines in the ode are rather obscure.

The people living on the sea-coast were used to shipwrecks, from which the striking simile in the next ode is derived. "As when the wind grows strong and the storm beats, the ship is upset and the terrified crew fall down and many men seize one plank, so my friend, in the street where the small, beautiful yā̱l is humming like the fair bee, the bejewelled harlots, who once had possession of your heart and are shedding hot tears because you have deserted them, catch hold of you and are pulling you in different directions. I have seen with my eyes this your distress; but how can I help you?"[88]

In the many poems quoted in this chapter may be specially noted the fundamental characteristics of Indian art—literary or plastic. The aim of Indian art is primarily decorative and not imitative. The artist does not desire to reproduce natural objects, more or less idealized, but to decorate the thing he has in hand; there is no limit to the amount of this decoration. Every inch of the material worked on is beautified with a bit of decoration such as it is

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88 கண்டனென் மகிழ்ந கண்டவென் செய்கோ
பாணன் கையது பண்புடைச் சீறியாழ்
யாணர் வண்டி னிம்மென விமிரு
மேர்தரு தெருவி னெதிர்ச்சி நோக்கிநின்
மார்புதலைக் கொண்ட மாணிழை மகளிர்
கவலை முற்ற வெய்துவீ ழரிப்பனி
காலை முற்றப் பைதரு காலைக்
கடன்மரங் கவிழ்ந்தெனக் கலங்கி யுடன்வீழ்பு
பலர்கொள் பலகை போல
வாங்க வாங்கநின் றூங்கஞர் நிலையே.

Nar. 30.

susceptible of. Hence in poetry every noun is furnished with an adjective, and if the adjective happens to be a phrase, the noun within that phrase is provided with an epithet, till the whole poem looks like the entrance-tower (gōpuram) of our temples, studded with decorations, which to a mind trained in the principles of Greek art is maddening, and which renders translation into English very difficult. The South Indian artist's mind is apparently influenced by the profusion of the growth of leaves and flowers in the tropical forests, the contemplation of which has inspired Indian art through the ages.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FOREIGN TRADE IN THE FIRST HALF MILLENNIUM A. D.

The time of Augustus:

In the time of the Emperor Angustus there was a great development of India's trade with Rome. The increase of Roman influence at Palmyra and the consolidation of Roman power in Alexandria, the principal emporium of trade between the East and the West, were the causes of the sudden expansion of this trade. The internal dissensions that eventually led to the disruption of the Imperial power had not then begun: hence arose an unrestrained indulgence in Eastern luxuries on the part of the leaders of fashion among the Roman men and women.

Trade in living animals:

Of the articles that were imported into the Roman Empire from India, there is ample imformation in the Greek and Latin books of the period. The trade in mammals and birds was indirect and conducted through the land-route. Fashionable ladies had as pets "Hanuman, Madras, Malabar and Nilgiri langurs of India .....On a silver dish found at Lampsacos India is represented as a woman surrounded by a parrot, a guinea-fowl, a tiger, a leopard, and hanuman monkeys; though the guinea-fowl was certainly African, the others were Indian."[1] "The four specimens of (Indian) tigers

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[1] Warmington op. cit. p. 147.

exhibited by Claudius created perhaps a great impression, for on a mosaic found near the arch of Gallienus are represented four tigers eating their prey. A passage in Petronius appears to indicate that a tiger was carried about in a gilded cage, probably in Nero's reign and gorged with the blood of human victims . . . . Several more were exhibited by Domitian."[2] The other South Indian mammals which were imported into the Roman Empire were the buffalo, and the elephant. The white elephant was a special attraction at Rome in the time of Augustus, who had large numbers of elephants killed. Under the Empire elephants were used for drawing the ceremonial cars of the Emperors.[3]

Several species of parrots formed favourite cage-birds of Roman ladies and were frequently engraved upon classical gem-stones. "In the time of Augustus (they) were kept in wicker cages, but by the time of Martial and Statius in cages of ivory or tortoise shell adorned with ivory and provided with silver wires—a pretty picture of Roman luxury ministered to by the far East. . . Supplies increased during the second century, for Pausanias speaks of parrots and other terata (monsters, marvels) brought from India, and Arrian declines to describe the birds, while Elgabalus obtained such large supplies that he could create table luxuries out of the heads of parrots, and feed his lions and other animals upon them."[4] Other birds that went from India were pheasants, (the "Phoenix" that was exhibited by Claudius in 47 A.D. being probably a golden pheasant) the

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[2] Ib. p. 148.

[3] Ib. p. 152.

[4] Ib. p. 154.

peacock, and dwarf fowls. Snakes were also obtained from India by Hadrian and others.[5]

Trade in animal products:

Animal products were taken by the sea-route. Hides and furs were the chief of them. "Pliny's reference to 'Chinese' iron, tissues and skins is now taken to refer in reality to products obtained not from the Chinese but from 'Chera' kingdom in South India, so frequently visited by Greek merchants from the reign of Claudius onwards,"[6] 'Seres' named as the source of these goods being used for Śēra' as much as for China. The next animal product sent from India was butyron, i.e., ghi,[7] prepared from the milk of the buffalo. No doubt it was sent in leather skins. "Fryer, in 1672-81, speaks of tanks of ghi in the Deccan, 400 years old, of great value medicinally and of high price."[8]

Ivory was one of the most important animal products sent from India to Rome. Indian ivory is "mentioned frequently as soon as the Roman Empire begins. That the Roman commerce in ivory was enormous is shown by the large number of uses to which it was put—the references in ancient writers being very common and the surviving articles in ivory endless. In literature alone we find it used for statues, chairs, beds, sceptres, hilts, scabbards, chariots, carriages, tablets, book-covers, table-legs, doors, flutes, lyres, combs, brooches, pins, scrapers, boxes, bird-cages, floors, and so on, and extant examples in their multitudes would add

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5 Ib. pp. 155-157.

6 Ib. pp. 157-8.

7 Periplus. 41.

8 Schoff's Periplus, p. 177.

to an already remarkable list."[9] South Indian supplies of it were sent from Musiris, and Nelcynda[10] References to the Indian tortoise shell are frequent from the beginning of the Empire; it was used as a veneer for rich furniture. This was partly derived from the turtles of the Indian coasts and also from the sea round the Malay peninsula.[11]

The costliest animal product that was imported from India by the Roman Empire was the pearl from the gulf of Mannar. Madura and Uṛaiyūr had the chief pearl-marts whence the Roman merchants got it. Pearls became so fashionable with ladies that " beginning with the Jewish philosopher Philon of Alexandria and St. Paul, we find moralists lamenting the wearing of pearls by women and girls.

Drain of Roman gold:

In 22 A. D. the Emperor Tiberius (14-37 A. D.) deemed it necessary in the public interest to write to the Roman Senate, " If a reform is in truth intended, where must it begin? How are we to deal with the peculiar articles of female vanity, and in particular with that rage for jewels and precious trinkets which drain the empire of its wealth (Tiberius meant gold) and sends in exchange for baubles the money of the Commonwealth to foreign nations?"[12] In the time of the Emperor Claudius (41-54 A. D.) Arabian domination in the Red Sea was well brought under control. By the close of his reign was developed a great direct sea-trade

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[9] Warmington. op. cit. p. 163.

[10] Periplus, 56.

[11] Warmington, op. cit. pp. 166-167.

[12] Tacitus. Annals. iii. 53.

in gems and pearls. This trade grew to enormous proportions in the time of Claudius and Nero (54-68 A. D.) so that Pliny complained in 70 A. D. that India drained gold to the value of nearly a million pounds a year, "giving back her own wares, which are sold among us at fully a hundred times their first cost."[13] Pliny had good cause to complain of this drain of gold, for the chief imports of the Tamil country were gold and silver Roman coins (South India did not seem to have developed the art of coinage by that time) and wine. Roman coins were buried in the earth in different places along the breadth of Tamil India from the Malabar to the East Coast.

Trade in plant products:

Of the plant-products exported from South India to Rome the chief were aromatics and spice. Early in the imperial era pepper became a staple article of Rome's sea-trade with India. Pepper went chiefly from Malabar and Travancore. It was so eagerly sought for by the Romans that in this age the name 'Yavanapriya,' 'dear to the Romans,' (by now the name 'Yavana' was extended to the Romans both in Sanskrit and Tamil), was given to pepper. White pepper was specially prized because it was less pungent but more tasty than black. It is said that pepper formed more than half the cargo of many a west-bound ship; for it was more important than salt or sugar in the cookery-books of the day.[14] Ginger was also imported from India, but more as medicine than for culinary purposes.

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[13] Pliny. Nat Hist. vi. 26.

[14] Warmington. op. cit. p. 182.

Cardamom was used both in medicines and in perfumes; so too cinnamon. It is curious that cinnamon-leaf, called malabathrum, was known to be Indian, but the Romans thought that 'cassia,' its root, and the wood were grown in Africa; so cleverly did the Arabian traders conceal its origin from the Romans. The oil of the spikenard was another highly prized article. Under the name 'nard' was included various articles, including the oil of ginger-grass and lemon-grass. Nutmegs and cloves were begun to be imported in the period of Rome's decline. Gingelly-oil, and sugar, i.e. jaggery, called by Strabo 'honey obtained from trees in India without the aid of bees,"[15] were minor articles of trade.

Cotton cloth was a very large item in the exports from South India. The "Argaritic" muslin, sent from Uṛaiyūr (now Trichinopoly), called Argaru by the Periplus,[16] was the chief of them. Cotton was also exported from South India. "The edict of Diocletian shows that stuffed mattresses and pillows were made from Indian cotton . . . Palestine also received much Indian cloth."[17]

Of the woods imported by the Romans from India, some were ornamental and timber woods and others, fragrant ones used as unguents and medicines. Of the former the chief were ebony, rosewood and teak wood.[18] Of the latter the chief were sandal-wood, red sanders, agil, and makeir (supposed to be 'Tellichery

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[15] Warmington. op. cit. p. 209.

[16] Ib. 59.

[17] Warmington. op. cit. p. 212.

[18] Periplus, 36.

bark.'[19] The Periplus testifies to the export of coconut oil and Pliny, of the banana, rice, millets, and various medicinal plant-products, like nutmegs, and tamarind; the betel-leaf and nut, are also mentioned by various writers.

Trade in mineral products:

Of the products of the mineral world, the diamond ('adamas') was the costliest article sent to Rome from Muziris and Nelcynda. "The ancient Indians seem to have checked the exportation of large diamonds, but still the Romans obtained large and famous specimens, perhaps used as amulets after the Indian example."[20] Agate, carnelian, sard, onyx, and bloodstone, besides, were largely exported from India. Cups hollowed out of precious stones were much prized. From Pliny[21] we learn that Nero paid one million sesterces for one cup of emerald (which the Roman writer calls Indian agate). Rock-crystal glasses stained so as to look like precious stones were also obtained from India by the Greeks and Romans.[22] The ruby and the sapphires were also sent from South India; so also beryl.[23]

"The Roman trade in Indian iron and steel was an important one . . . (The) excellent Parthian metal was perhaps really Indian. Eventually they (the Greeks) learnt the secret of production, for Saumaise points out a special Greek treatise on the tempering of Indian steel . . . The bulk of Roman importation consisted

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[19] Warmington, op. cit. pp. 215-216.

[20] Ib. p. 236.

[21] Nat. Hist. vi. 26.

[22] Warmington, op. cit. p. 246.

[23] Periplus, 56

not of large quantities of ore, but objects made of iron and steel. The Romans worked it into fancy cutlery, as Clemens shows, and perhaps into armour at Damascus (whither Indian metal was sent)."[24]

Imports from Rome :

In exchange for these articles the Romans sent chiefly coins, but also coral and wine, and lead and tin.[25] But the adverse balance, adverse to Rome, was so great that the Indian trade seriously affected the coinage of Rome. The influence of this trade on the fortunes of this imperial city has been thus described by Schoff, the editor of the Periplus. "This extravagant importation of luxuries from the East without adequate production of commodities to offer in exchange, was the main cause of the sucessive depreciation and degradation of the Roman currency, leading finally to its total repudiation. The monetary standard of Rome was established by accumulations of precious metal resulting from its wars. The sack of the rich city of Tarentum in 272 B. C. enabled Rome to change her coinage from copper to silver. After the destruction of Carthage and Corinth in 146 B.C., gold coinge came into general use and through the wars of Casar gold became so plentiful that in 47 B. C. its ratio to silver was as 1 to 8.9, lower than ever before or since. Under Augustus the ratio was about 1 to 9.3, the aureus being worth 25 silver denarii. Under Claudius the sea-route to India was opened, after which came the reign of Nero, marked by every form of wastefulness and extravagance, during which the silver

[24] Warmington, op. cit. pp. 257-8.

[25] Periplus. 56.

denarius fell from 1-84 to 1-96 pound of silver, an alloy of 20 per cent copper being added to it. Under Trajan the alloy reached 30 per cent, and under Septimus Severus 50 per cent. Finally, under Elagabalus, 218 A. D. the denarius had become wholly copper and was repudiated. Even the golden aureus was tampered with. Exported in large quantities to become the basis of exchange in India, the supply at home was exhausted. Under Augustus the aureus weighed 1-40 of a pound of gold, and under Diocletian it weighed but 1-60. Under Constantine it fell to 1-72 when the coin was taken only by weight (Sabatier. Monnaies Byzantines, i. 51-2; Brooks Adams, Law of Civilization and Decay, 25-8). It was this steady loss of capital, to replace which no new wealth was produced that led finally to the abandonment of Rome and to the transfer of the capital at the end of the 3rd century to Nicomedia, and soon afterwards to Byzantium."[26]

The Periplus on South Indian ports:

The author of the Periplus of the Eythrean Sea (Guide-book to the Indian Ocean) who wrote about 60 A.D. describes, besides North Indian ports, those of the Tamil Country. He mentions, among others, Tondi, Musiri and Comari (Cape Comorin, Kumari in Tamil), where "came those men who wish to consecrate themselves for the rest of their lives, and bathe and dwell in celebacy; and women also did the same, for it is told that a Goddess once dwelt here and bathed."[27] It has already been pointed out that from the rise of the different Āgama cults and of various ascetic orders.

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[26] Schoff's Periplus, pp. 219-220.

[27] Periplus, 58.

Bhikṣus and Bhikṣuṇīs sought refuge from the turmoil of the world and performed tapas in the remote corners of the forests of Southern India. We now learn from the Periplus that, as now, even in the I century A.D. Sādhus and Sanyāsīs travelled to Cape Comorin to bathe in the sea, and that, at this early date, had arisen the legend of some (probably mortal) maiden waiting for Śiva to marry her at Cape Comorin, where her effigy still stand patiently. Perhaps this legend existed from the days of the Mahābhārata. But yet the Śiva-worshippers of the North do not seem to have actively attempted to spread the Aryan cult of Śiva in the Tamil country, for the bulk of the Tamil people continued to live in the I century A.D., unattracted by the desperate anxiety of the Āryas to seek by devotion to Śiva, means of escape from the ills that flesh is heir to.

After Comari the Periplus describes Colchi (Koṛkai) "where the pearl-fisheries are; they are worked by condemned criminals, and it belongs to the Pandian Kingdom."[28] Beyond Koṛkai was the "Coast Country," by which the Periplus means the coast of the Śōḻa nāḍu. It has a region inland called Argaru (Uṛaiyūr) probably from the Sanskrit form Uragapura, where "and nowhere else, are brought the pearls gathered on the coast thereabouts; and from there are exported muslins, those called Argaritic."[29] To the north of Uraiyūr lie the Salem and the Cuddappah districts, then, as now, famous for cotton manufacture.

The author of the Periplus did not travel beyond Koṛkai and his account of the East Coast, being based

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[28] Periplus, 59.

[29] Periplus, 59.

on hearsay, and that, not so searching as Ptolemy's, is very unsatisfactory. The Śōḻa ports he mentions are Camara, Poduka and Sopatma. The chief Śōḻa ports of the time were Kōḍikkarai, Negapatam and the mouth of the Kāviri. The Periplus says that from the ports on the south part of the East Coast, large vessels, called Colandia, sailed to the Ganges and to Chryse (probably Burma, then called Suvaṇṇabhūmi). "There are imported into these places everything made in Damirike, and the greatest part of what is brought at any time from Egypt comes here, together with most kinds of all the things that are brought from Damirike and of those that are carried through Paralia (Travancore coast)."[30]

A Roman colony in Madura:

In this age there was a Roman colony at Madura, for besides the gold and silver Roman coins found in several places of South India " innumerable copper coins have been found in Madura in the waste places about the town and the sandy bed of the river in the dry months. The presence in many different places in the same town of Roman copper coins found lying in the ground and in the sandy bed of the river, seems to imply that these coins were in daily circulation and were dropped carelessly or otherwise lost by the inhabitants of the place."[31]

These copper coins must have been brought to the place by Roman merchants for their own use. They could certainly not have been imported for use as currency in the Indian bazaars (as gold and silver coins were) for their bulk would have made the provision of

[30] Periplus, 60.

[31] J. R. A. S. 1906, p. 610.

shipping accommodation impossible. It is equally absurd to hold that they could have been imported for the purpose of melting for making pots and other useful articles, for in those days India got all the copper she wanted from her own mines. The Peutingerian Tables which are a kind of maps copied from the fresco paintings in Rome, at a date somewhat earlier than Ptolemy, place near Muziris (Muśiṛi) on the west coast, a temple of Augustus. Ptolemy who composed his geography about 150 A.D. tells us that he obtained part of his knowledge from people who had resided in India for a long time. These facts prove that colonies of Roman merchants lived in several commercial centres of the Tamil Country.

Romans in South India :

There is, besides, plenty of evidence in the Tamil literature of the period, to prove that Roman merchants, Roman soldiers and Roman artificers, lived in various parts of the Tamil country. The Roman merchants brought wine and gold coins into South India, and the name 'yavana' which originally meant ' Greek ' was by this time extended to the Romans too, the Greeks having sunk to insignificance in matter of international relations. A poem refers to " the cool, sweet-smelling wine, brought by the yavanas, in beautiful vessels (vases, presumably) and drunk daily from gold cups held by damsels who wore bright bracelets."[32] Another poem refers to the import of gold coins. It says that " the beautifully built ships of the yavanas came, agitating the white

[32] யவனர் நன்கலந் தந்த தண்கமழ் தேறல்
பொன்செய் புனைகலத் தேந்தி நாளு
மொண்டொடி மகளிர் மடுப்ப.

Puṛ. 56, ll. 18-20.

foams of the Pēriyāṟu, with gold and returned with pepper, and Muśiṟi resounded with the noise."[33]

Roman soldiers settled in the Tamil country and were employed as bodyguards of Tamil Rājas. They are described in the following terms :—" The valiant eyed yavanas whose bodies were strong and looked terrible and who wore besides a coat (lit. body-bag) a long piece of cloth (toga) hanging low and with many folds in which was concealed the whip with which horses were whipped."[34] Hence they acted also as the gate-keepers of palaces. "The yavanas with murderous swords, excellent guardians of the gates of the fort-walls."[35]

Roman military engines in South India :

Besides merchants and soldiers, many Roman engineers and artificers settled in the Tamil land. The Roman engineers made for the use of Tamil Rājas battering rams with which to destroy the walls of forts as well

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33 பேரியாற்று வெண்ணுரை கலங்க
யவனர் தந்த வினைமா ணன்கலம்
பொன்னொடு வந்து கறியொடு பெயரும்
வளங்கெழு முசிறி யாப்பெழ.

Agam. 149. ll. 9-12.

Puṟam 343 refers to the same fact but does not mention the Romans.

34 மத்திகை வளைஇய மறிந்துவீங்கு செறிவுடை
மெய்ப்பை புக்க வெருவருந் தோற்றத்து
வலிபுணர் யாக்கை வன்கண் யவனர்.

Mullaippāṭṭu. ll. 59—61.

35 கடிமதில் வாயில் காவலிற் சிறந்த
வடல்வாள் யவனர்.

Śil. xiv. ll. 66-67.

as numerous engines of defence which were planted in front of the fort-gates. Tolkāppiyam defines Uḻiñai, one of the stages of war, as comprising the siege and the defence of a fort.[36] Naccinārkkiniyar, the commentator, explains that forts possessed engines made by Yavanas. In this explanation, the commentator records an old tradition which says that the Romans manufactured engines of war for the ancient Tamil Rajas. That the walls of forts were provided with engines is indicated by the phrase "the small entrance of the fort-gate provided so thickly with engines that even the moon could not pierce through."[37] In the Śilappadigāram is given a list of engines kept at the gates of the royal palace at Madura. They were "mechanical bows which shot arrows, engines like the black-fingered monkeys for biting foes, mechanical slings which vomited stones, engines that scattered boiling oil, pots with boiling copper, fires boiling steel and throwing them in all directions, baskets which discharged stones, mechanical angling-rods, chains, mechanical fowls for pecking at the brain of assailants, iron forks, stakes, bundles of arrows, machines for shooting small arrows, pig-machines bamboo-machines, beams so arranged as to fall on those that forced open the gate, strong beams, missiles, spears, etc."[38]

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36 முழுமுத லரண முற்றுங் கோடலு
மனைநெறி மரபிற் றாகு மென்ப.
Tol. Por. ii. 10.

37 திங்களு நுழையா வெந்திரப் படுபுழை.
Puṟ. 177. 1. 5.

38 வளைவிற் பொறியும்
கருவிர லூகமுங் கல்லுமிழ் கவணும்
பரிவுறு வெந்நெயுங் பாகடு குழிசியுங்
காய்பொன் னுலையுங் கல்லிடு கூடையுந்

Another poem, the Śīvakaśindāmaṇi, though belonging to the next half-millennium, may be usefully quoted in this connection. "The hundred-killer and machines for throwing down and beating people, visible demons, mechanical elephants and snakes that swallowed (men) and eagles looking like Yama, chains, lances, and (mechanical) tigers, mechanical bows that shot their own arrows, mechanical cruel horses, (that of themselves charged the enemy), swords that went on killing the foe, engines that threw stones, human statues and figures of swans that spat red flames, burning balls of iron made by black-smiths, big storks, owls, beams which crushed heads, machines that poured boiling copper, boiling steel, and boiling oil, that threw arrows, spears and stones, machines invented by the Yavanas made by the help of their intelligence: pigs made of iron, angry looking snakes, carts that were propelled (by machinery), monkeys, battering-rams, and thin ropes that cut off (heads)."[39]

தூண்டிலுந் தொடக்கு மாண்டலை யடுப்புங்
கவையுங் கழுவும் புதையும் புழையு
மையவித் துலாமும் கைபெய ரூசியுஞ்
சென்றெறி சிரலும் பன்றியும் பணையு
மெழுவுஞ் சீப்பு முழுவிறற் கணையமுங்
கோலுங் குந்தமும் வேலும் பிறவும்.

Śil. xv. 207—216.

39 நூற்றுவரைக் கொல்லியொடு
நூக்கி யெறி போறியுந்
தோற்றமுறு பேய்களிறு துற்றுபெரும் பாம்புங்
கூற்றமன கழுகுதொடர் குந்தமொடு கோண்மா
விற்பொறிகள் வெய்ய விடுகுதிரை தொடரயில்வாள்
கற்பொறிகள் பாவையென மாடமடு செந்தீக்

Besides Roman military engineers, Roman artizans settled in South India. The workmanship of yavanat-taccar, Roman artizans, is frequently praised in early Tamil poems. E. g., 'the bowl of the lamp held in the hands of the statue of beautiful workmanship made by the yavanas.'[40] The yavana artizans are mentioned in the Maṇimēgalai, along with the expert workers of Magada, Marāṭṭa, Avanti and the Tamil land.[41]

The Peruṅgadai, a long epic composed in the second half-millennium A. D., frequently mentions the yavanas. It mentions 'yavana ornaments',[42] 'the beautiful lamp on statues made by yavanas,[43] a magara vīnai, ornamen-

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கொற்புனைசெய் கொள்ளிபெருங் கொக்கொழில்செய் கூடை

நாற்றலை கடிருக்கும் வலிநெருக்கு மரகிலையே
செம்புருகு வெங்களிக ளுமிழ்வதிரிந் தெங்கும்
வம்புழிழ்வ வேலுமிழ்வ கல்லுமிழ்வ வாகி
தம்புலன்களால் யவனர்தாட் படுத்த பொறியே
கரும்பொ னியல்பன்றி கதநாகம் விடுசகடங்
குரங்கு பொருதகரினோடு கூர்ந்தரிவ நுண்ணூல்.

Śivakaśindāmaṇi l. st. 101—104.

The word மாடம் above is obscure.

[40] யவன ரியற்றிய வினைமாண் பாவை
கையேந் தையகல்

[41] மகத வினைஞரு மராட்டக் கம்மரு
மவந்திக் கொல்லரும் யவனத் தச்சருந்
தண்டமிழ் வினைஞர் தம்மொடு கூடி.

Maṇimēgalai. xix. Cl. 107—9.

[42] யவன மஞ்சிகை.

Peruṅgadai, i. 32. l. 76.

[43] யவனப் பாவை யணி விளக்கு.

Ib. i. 17 l. 175.

ted with the beautiful handiwork of yavanas,[44] and a yavana chest,[45] and the cart adorned by the āryas with the gold lotus made by the yavanas.[46] The yavanas must have settled in large numbers, because the village (śēri) of the yavanas is referred to.[47]

Ptolemy's Geography and South India:

Ptolemy in his Treatise on geography (c. 150 A. D) gives a much more detailed account of the Tamil country than the Periplus. He derived his knowledge of South India from persons who had resided in South India. The general impression left on our minds from his account is that South India was divided among the traditional three Kings and a number of tribal chiefs, that the three kings were of more or less equal standing and that the age had not commenced when a Śōḻa King like Karikāl could claim the lordship of the whole of South India. On the contrary, according to Ptolemy, "the cholas were partly nomad." Their name "is hidden in his Sorietae, Soringoi, and Sorae, with a capital apparently at Arcot, and in his king Sornas (the

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44 யவனக் கைவினை
மாணப் புணர்ந்தோர் மகர வீணை
Ib. iii. 16, ll, 22—23.

45 யவனப் பேழை
Ib, iii. 22. l. 213.

46 யவனக் கைவினை யாரியர் புனைந்த
தமனியத் தியன்ற தாமரை போல
..........................வையம்
Ib. i. 38. ll. 233—4, 239.

47 ஐம்பதினிரட்டி யவனச்சேரி
Ib, iii 4. 1 8.

Such a cart is also referred to in iii. 5. ll. 48—9.

name is obviously the racial title) whose palace was at Orthora (Uṟandai, another name of Uṟaiyūr). The Pāṇḍiyas, too, had in Ptolemy's time but "a limited area."[48] This, by itself, would indicate that the period when one of the three dynasties acquired imperial power over the others had not commenced. Moreover while Ptolemy in dealing with North India speaks more often of Kingdoms like Indo-Scythia, Abiria, Arsa, etc., in the case of South India speaks but of tribes e.g., Aioi, Kareoi Pandionoi, Soretoi, Batoi, Aruvarnoi, Thoringoi. This shows that the power of the kings was not consolidated as in the age of Karikāl or Neḍuñjeḻiyan. The very first province of the Tamil country going down from the North, he calls Limyrice or Dymirike. This name has been wrongly taken to indicate the whole the Tamilagam but both the author of the Periplus and Ptolemy use it only as the name of the Śēra territory. The country north of it was to them Ariake, belonging to the Āryas, in the restricted sense of Marāṭhas which the word has in several passages of ancient Tamil literature. The name Dymirike, belonging to the Tamils, was apparently taken, by foreign merchants, to apply to the Tamil province immediately South of Ariake, i.e., the Śēra country. Most of the tribes Ptolemy mentions can be easily identified. The Aioi were the Āyar, Kareoi, the Karaiyar; the Pandionoi the Pāṇḍiyar; the Soretoi, notwithstanding the intruding t the Śōḻas; the Batoi, probably the Paradar, here of the South-eastern coast; the Aruvarnoi, the Aruvāḷar, people of Aruvānāḍu, the East coast districts of S. Arcot, Chingleput, North Arcot and probably Nellore;

[48] Warmington, op. cit. pp. 114-5.

the Thoringoi, which Ptolemy uses as another name of the Soretoi, was a corruption of Śōḻas or Śōḻiyas. Ptolemy mentions four dynasties of Kings as ruling over Dymirike, the Pandionoi, the Soretoi, and Aruvarnoi, viz., Kerabothros, (the Keralaputra of Asoka), Pandion, Śoronagos and Basarnagos. The elements—nagos of the latter two, it is impossible to understand, unless it is taken to be a mistake for rāja; and the last dynastic name Basarnagos is quite unlike any Tamil dynastic name Probably the Pallavas had begun to rule over the districts of the Aruvarnoi in Ptolemy's time; if so, Basarnagos may be a corruption of Pallavarāja. The capitals of these dynasties are correctly enough given by Ptolemy; they were the inland towns of Karoura (Karūr), Modoura (Madura), Orthoura (Uṛaiyūr or Uṛandai, Uragapura in Sanskrit), and Malanga, (Māvilaṅgai, probably near Kāñcīpura, or Kāñcīpura itself). Ptolemy gives also the names of numerous places both on the sea coast and in the interior; a few of these can be identified, e g., Tyndis (Toṇḍi), Mouziris (Muśiṛi) and Pounata (?Punnata, the place where beryls, vaiḍūrya, were found), besides Karoura (Karur) in Dymirike (the Sēra country); Kotiara (Kōṭṭār) and Komaria (Comorin) in the country of the Aioi: Kolkhoi (Koṛkai) in that of the Kareoi, Kory (used both for Dhanuṣkōṭi and Ramēśvaram), Beringkarai (Peruṅgarai), besides Madura in the Pāṇḍiya country: Nikama (either Negapatam or Niyamam), Kalligikon (Point Kalimir) in the country of the Batoi: Khaberis (Kāvirippaṭṭinam), Magour (Mohur), besides Orthoura in that of the Toringoi or Soretoi: Malanga, (Māvilaṅgai, the port of Kāñcīpura, called Mallai, now called Mahābalipura, and perhaps also the town of Kāñcī also), in that of the Arvarnoi.

Ptolemy names also a number of rivers in the Tamil country. The very first river, the chief one then as now of the Śēra country (called by him Dymirike), is Pseudostomos (i.e., False mouth). This name refers to the fact that Pēriyāṛu does not enter the sea direct but loses itself in the backwater near Crangamore. The next one, that at the South of Dymirike, was the Baris. This is certainly the Paruvūr river. The next one, not far from Kolkhoi, was Solen. This name seems to be a corruption of Porunai, the Tamil name of the Tāmraparṇī, the river near Koṛkai. The next river Ptolemy mentions is the Khaberos, which is the Kāviri. It is to be noted that Ptolemy gives this name a long e, in accordance with the Sanskrit form of the name, i.e., Kāvēri and not the Tamil form, which is Kāviri. Probably Ptolemy got his information from Brāhmaṇa residents of Alexandria, (for according to Dion Chrysostum there was a colony of Brāhmaṇas in that place in 100 A. D.[49]) or from traders who had come under the tuition of Brāhmaṇas. The last river Ptolemy mentions in South India is the Tyre. This must be a corruption of the Penner, the letter T being an easy error in greek for P. Numerous other towns and marts, both on the sea-coast and inland, are mentioned by Ptolemy and a lot of misplaced ingenuity has been spent in trying to identify them with modern places; but all these attempts have proved vain.

Roman trade after the death of Nero:

From the death of Nero the Roman trade in precious stones and superfine muslins began to decline, on account of the disputes about succession and the civil wars that ensued. When Vespasian became

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[49] Or. xxxii. 373, McCrindle. Ancient India, p. 177.

Emperor he issued enactments, to suppress the excesses of the nobles. The age of luxury was succeeded by one of self-denial But the trade with india did not die out altogether. Some writers imagine that because Roman coins of the evening of Rome's glory have not been found in South India, Tamil trade with Rome died out altogether in the III century A. D. This was not so for trade in pepper and ordinary cotton fabrics continued. This is proved by the fact that "when Alaric spared Rome in A. D. 408 he demanded and obtained as part of the ransom three thousand pounds of pepper," [50] and "four thousand silk robes.[51]. Mowever " Roman coins reappear in South India as well as in the north from Constantius upwards, increasing in the course of the fourth and fifth centuries, and Constantine received an Indian embassy in the last year of his life, while Julian (aggressive in the East like Trajan before him) received embassies from various oriental peoples, including Indian tribes."[52]

Under the Byzantine emperors from 376 A. D. the upper classes of Byzantium had leisure as well as wealth. Placed nearer to the East, the demand for Indian luxuries developed. As a result, in India have been found coins of these Emperors. In the VII century the Arabs conquered Syria, Egypt and Persia and became again the intermediaries of Indian commerce. Hence the name yavana gradually came to be appled to the Arabs and later on to Muhammadans in general.

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[50] J. R. A. S. 1904, p. 6 8.

[51] Warnington op. cit. p. 140

[52] Ib. p. 139.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE DISTRICT OF KĀNCĪPURA.

The City of Kāñcīpura:

Patañjali, who lived about 200 B. C. singled out the name of one town in the Tamil Country, Kāñcīpura, and explained the grammatical rule by which was formed from that word the name of a native of that place, viz., Kāñcīpuraka.[1] Why should Patañjali who was a Northerner have thought it necessary to explain the formation of Kāñcīpuraka, and not Uragapuraka, native of Uṟaiyūr, or Madhurāpuraka, native of Madhurā? Evidently he considered that the latter two words had not established themselves in the Sanskrit language; but men from Kāñcīpura were well-known to North Indian scholars. True there was commercial intercourse between North India and the Śōḻa and Pāṇḍiya capitals, but apparently there was no intellectual intercourse such as there was between Kāñcīpura and Pāṭaliputra. Kāñcīpura was the southernmost outpost of Sanskrit culture in those days. Kāñcīpura is a Sanskrit word and the town, though situated in the Tamil country, has no Tamil name. Kacci for the first time occurs in the Perumbāṇāṟṟuppaḍai, a poem in eulogy of Iḷandiraiyan (V century A. D.)[2] The word Kacci resulted from the Tamilization of Kāñcī, the shortened form of Kāñcīpura, which literally means 'the city of the girdle'. The word Kāñjiyūr occurs in early Tamil

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1. Bhāṣya on Vārttka 16 on Pāṇ. IV. II. 104.
2. கச்சியோனே. Ib. l. 420.

poems,[3] but it does not refer to Kañcī ·ura at all, for the word Kāñji in Kāñjiyūr is distinctly indicated to be the name of a tree.[4]

The ancient capitals of Tamil Kings were Uṛaiyūr, Vañji and Madurai and Tamil tradition does not connect Kāñcīpura with the earliest Tamil Kings. It is situated far from the heart of the Tamil country being on its outermost borders. The district of Kāñ īpura had in early times no specific name like the other eleven Tamil districts but was merely called Aruvāvaḍadalai, the region lying north of Aruvā, which was what is now called the district of South Arcot. It waa in later times, i.e, long after the Pallava dynasty had established itself finally there and the district became a centre of Tamil culture that it came to be called by the specific name of Toṇḍamaṇḍalam, lit. the district ruled over by

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3. காஞ்சியூர, 'man of the place surrounded by Kāñji trees,' Agam 96, l. 8. This village was in the Śōḷa country. The Kāñji is mentioned in poems of the of the marudam class, Vide Agam, 336. காஞ்சியூரன் also occurs in Kuṛundogai, 10, where the flower-clusters of the Kāñjī are said to resemble those of பயறு.

4. Kuṛ. 10, referred to in the above footnote says
பயறுபோ லிணர பைந்தாது படீஇய
ருழவர் வாங்கிய கமழ்பூ மென்சினைக்
காஞ்சியூரன். ll. 2-4.

'The man of the village where grows the Kāñji tree from whose flower clusters, like those of the green pulse, the pollen drops and in whose thin boughs, bent by the ploughmen, sweet-smelling flowers abound'. The flower is also referred to in Puṛ 18. l. 7, and the tree in ?uṛ. 351. l. 11 and Puṛ. 36?. l. 10.

the kings, or belonging to the people, named after the creeper toṇḍai Then the district of South Arcot became the Naḍunāḍu, the central district. We thus see that in ancient days the district of Kāñcīpura was conceived by the Tamils as practically outside the genuine Tamil country, the region north of the Tamils district of Aruvā.

The Andhras:

Beyond this region lay the great plateau where reigned the Āndhras, the Cis-Vindhyan Dasyus who were the earliest to absorb the Aryan culture, when it pierced the Vindhyas and overspread the Dakṣiṇāpatha. The Āndhras were Aryanized early in the first millinneum before Christ, for from among them rose two of the latest Ṛṣis, Baudhāyana and Āpastamba. The Āndhras must have established an extensive Aryanized empire south of the Vindhyas in very early times. Otherwise it is difficult to explain the rise of Aryan law-givers among them; for lawgivers are not likely to have risen without royal patronage. Aśōka hints at a vague sort of supremacy over the Āndhras; this merely means that the Āndhra Kings of the IV and III centuries B.C., acknowledged that the emperors of Magadha from Mahāpadma Nanda onwards were superior to them in might and entitled to receive presents as a mark of respect and does not mean that the Āndhra region was a part of the Magadha empire. Moreover V. A. Smith has pointed out that Pliny, probably quoting from Megasthenes, tells us that the Āndhra territory included thirty walled towns, besides numerous villages, and the army consisted of 100,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants. If this information really comes from Megasthenes, it

shows that in Maurya times, the Āndhra Kings possessed a vast and powerful dominion. V. A. Smith is also of opinion that in the days of Aśoka, the Āndhras probably enjoyed a considerable degree of autonomy under their own Rajas.[5]

The Puranas begin their list of Āndhra Kings with Śimuka and modern scholars think that he reigned in the end of the III century B. C. Does this mean that there were no Āndhra kings before Śimuka? No, for the Āndhra country described by Megasthenes was governed by kings of its own. The dynasties of the Kali Age enumerated in the Puranas refer only to the Kings whose influence was felt in Āryāvartta; and after the Āndhra influence began to be felt there, the Purānas commenced to note the names of the Kings of the Āndhra dynasty starting with Śimuka of the III century B C. The Āndhra Kingdom must have begun to exist long before Śimuka, i.e. ever since it was Aryanized and Ārya laws and institutions spread in it early in the first millinenum B.C.

Aryan influence in Kāñcīpura:

Almost since that time Aryan influence ought to have penetrated to the district of Kāñcīpura, for it lay in the outermost fringe of the Āndhra dominion in the region that was just outside the genuine Tamil provinces.

That Kāñcīpura was a centre of Aryan culture from very early times is confirmed by the tradition that Cāṇakya, the great minister of Candragupta Maurya was a native of Drāviḍa, that is Kāñ·ī.[6] Cāṇakya

[5] V. A. Smith. Early History of India, pp. 217-8 and footnote.

[6] Turnour. Mahāwanso. p. 21. J. A. S. B. v. 2 (Foulkes. J. R. A. S. 1885, p. 209.)

had several names viz., Vātsyāyana, Mallanāga, Kuṭila, Dramiḷa, Pakṣilasvāmī, Viṣṇugupta, and Aṅgula[7] There is no reason to discredit this tradition which will lead to the conclusion that the great minister not only helped to seat Candragupta on the imperial throne but also wrote on the Artha Śāstra and the whole circle of sciences, Kāma Śāstra, Dharma Śāstra, and Mokṣa Śāstra. There is nothing absurd in concluding that the works that go by the above several names were all composed by one man, for did not Madhavācārya who founded and organised the great Vijayanagara Empire and whose ministerial activities were very much more variegated than those of Cāṇakya yet found time to write extensive treatises not only on the four Puruṣārthas, but on other subjects too. Stray references such as to the Śātakarṇis in the Kāma Śāstra, indicating a later date for this work are no valid objections to Cāṇakyā's authorship of these works, because in India especially in early times, books were never published as in modern days, but remained the property of the disciples of the master for several generations and it was not considered wrong on the part of the teachers of a later generation to insert illustrations from current events into the Mss. of ancient texts. Hence the antiquity of ancient Sanskrit works ought not to be decided on the strength of stray allusions which were added in later times. But whatever be the merits of the theory that Cāṇakya wrote on Artha, Nyāya and Kāma and that he was also the Dramiḷācārya referred to by Rāmānuja in his Śrībhāṣya, it cannot be denied that he was one of the

[7] Hemacandra. quoted by Law, Anc. Hindu Polity pp. x, xi; vide also K.V. Rangaswami Iyengar's Anc. Ind. Polity, pp. 87 88.

most learned men of his age and the first of the series of great South Indian scholars e.g., Nāgārjuna, Dinnāga, Buddhadatta, Dharmapāla, Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, Ānanda-tīrtha, Mādhava, Sāyana, and others who were leaders of Indian thought and the torch-bearers of culture throughout the whole of India from pre-christian times. This fact, more than others, emphasizes the cultural unity of India and the continuity of its culture, though the land was always broken up into "fifty six" states, so far as the administration of public affairs was concerned.

One of the names of Kāñcīpura is Satyavrata kṣētra and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa says that Satyavrata, (King of Draviḍa i.e., Kāñcī) became Vivasvān's son, Manu.[8] This means that Satyavrata was the earliest Aryan or Aryanized King of Kāñcī, and was affiliated to the Solar dynasty by Brāhmaṇās who constantly in the course of Indian History, invented genealogies tracing the ancestry of Aryanized kings to one of Purāṇic gods or heroes. It may be remarked in passing that probably the kings who ruled over Kāñcī before the Pallava period were spoken of as Satyaputras, decendants of Satyavrata. Asoka's Satiyaputto were probably rulers of Kāñci in his days.[9]

Whether the descendants of the Satyavratas were vassals of the Āndhras or no, there is no means of ascertaining, but it is certain that after the Āndhra country was Aryanized, Kāñcīpura became the southernmost outpost of Aryan culture and was not a seat of Tamil culture in early times.

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[8] Bhāg IX i. 2-3 (Pargiter)

[9] As suggested by S. V. Venkatesvara in the Ind. Aniquary for 1919.

It has also to be noted that though the Northerners changed the word Tamil into Dravida, in actual use they restricted the name Dravidas to the people of the Kāñcīpura district to the exclusion of the Śōlās, the Śēras and the Pāṇḍiyas. The Draviḍas are referred to as different from these others; for the Draviḍas that attended the Rājasūya of Yudhiṣṭhira and took part in the great war are mentioned as distinct from the Cōḷās, Cēras and the Pāṇḍyas.[10] This name Draviḍas, to designate specifically the Aryanized Tamils of the district of Kāñcīpura prevailed even in the VII century A.D for Ywan Chwang calls the province Ta-lo-pi-la, which is Drāviḍa altered so as to suit the phonetic framework of the Chinese language.

The Āgama cults in Kāñcī:

The Āgamas and the Āgamika forms of worship were fairly widespread in India in the centuries that immediately preceded the Christian era. Seven great centres of Āgamika worship—it would tend to clearness if they are called seven temple-cities, seven places which were regarded as foci of spiritual influence whence radiated rays of Bhakti to Śiva or Viṣṇu—became prominent in early days and Kāñcī was one of them[11]. This confirms the theory of the early affiliation of

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[10] M. Bh. ii. 34, 1271, iii. 51, 1988, v. 22.656, viii. 11.454.

[11] Ayodhyā Mathurā Māyā Kāśī Kāñcī Avantikā | Pūrī Dvāravatī caiva saptaitā Mokṣadāyikā ‖ Bhūta Śuddhi Tantra, quoted in Śabdakalpadrumā. This Tantra may be a recent book, but the Śloka looks like one which has floated down the stream of time from antiquity.

Kāñcīpura to Northern culture. By this time the genuine Vaidika cult was all but dead and hence neither Kāñcīpura nor any of the other six cities were specially associated with the Vaidika yajña in those days but were centres of the worship of Śiva or Viṣṇu or Kāḷi. This is further proof that Kāñcī was from the beginning a centre of Aryan culture.

During the time when the Āndhra power was in the ascendant numerous Bauddha monastaries were built; and when on account of the pressure of the Śaka-Pallavas, Āndhra power gravitated to the East Coast and Dhanakada became the chief Āndhra Capital, there was built the great and beautiful monastery of Amarāvatī, in which traces of Yavana (Indo-Hellenic) art have been recognized. We may well believe that the Bauddha cult (and along with it the Jaina cult, besides the Śaiva and the Vaiṣṇava cults) became established in Kāñcīpura. This will explain the fact that Buddha images with faint reminiscences of Yavana art, and also stone relics of the Jaina cult, have been found in that city.

The Pallavas:

The Śaka-Pallavas gradually succeeded to the dominions of the Āndhras in the I, II, and III centuries A. D. Saurāṣṭra, Māḷva, Dhanakaṭaka and Kāñcīpura districts, one by one fell under the sway of one or other of the Śaka-Pallava dynasties. These Śaka-Pallavas were originally adventurers, who from the time of Daryavush Vishtaspa (Darius Hystaspes) poured into India by sea and by land and acquired soverign power in different districts of the country. Religion seems to have sat loosely on these tribes,

for we find them accepting the Śaiva, the Vaiṣṇava, the Bauddha and Jaina cults; and as the religio-social organization of India was not one-tenth so hidebound as it is to-day, they found a place in the Indian social polity. They accepted some dialect or other of Prakrit as their court-language and Sanskrit as their culture-language. They gradually gave up their outlandish proper names and assumed Sanskrit or Prakrit ones instead. The branch of them that gave the final blow to Āndhra power and became masters of Dhanakaṭaka were acknowledged to be Kṣattrīyas of the Bhāradvāja gōtra, and called themselves Pallavas[12].

The early Pallava dynasty of Kāñcī.

Probably the first Pallava that established himself in Kāñcī was Bappa. He is said to have made donations to Brahmaṇas of the Ātreya, Hārīta, Bhāradvāja, Kauśika, Kāśyapa and Vatsa Gotras, of a hundred thousand ox ploughs, and many millions of gold coins. One of his successors Śiva Khanda Vamma, who mentions the benefactions of his ancestor, Bappa, performed the Agniṣṭōma, Vājapeya, and Aśvamedha sacrifices. These facts show that there was no dearth of Brāhmaṇas

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[12] In ignorance of the fact that Pahlava was the Sanskrit form, rarely used, of Pallava, the Prākrit form used from Gāndhāra down to Kāñcīpura, a futile attempt has been recently made to separate the Pallavas of Kāñcī from the Pallavas of all other Indian provinces and to claim for them a Tamil origin. Pahlava and Pallava are the same word, the Indianized forms of Parthava, the tribal name which has became Parthian in the European languages.

(Southern Āryas) in the city of Kāñcīpura in early days; hence the city must have been Aryanized long before the Pallava rule began. Śiva Khanda Vamma's plates show that the administration of his province was conducted in the Aryan way, as described in the Artha Śāstra and developed by the law-givers that succeeded Cāṇakya. The sub-divisions of the dominions, the officers that carried on the administration, the taxes, and the exemptions from dues in the case of gift-lands, are all referred to by means of Sanskrit terminology. The grant was composed by a member of the Privy Council in his own handwriting, then it was engraved on copper plate and finally seen by the king who issued it as his own order accompanying it with libations of water. In the times of these early Pallavas, Brāhmaṇas were settled in Agrahārams in the Kāñcīpura district and were employed in secular offices as the grants prove. All these purely Aryan customs were not known in the heart of the Tamil country till it was Aryanized ,in the VI century A. D.

Siva Khanda Vamma's grants, like the Nāsik inscriptions of the Āndhra Kings, are in Prakrit, differing from the literary Pali in several respects. There are indications that this language must have been in use in Kāñcī for a pretty long time and been to some extent affected by Tamil, which was the vernacular of the masses in that district; for as Buhler, when he edited the Hīrahaḍagaḷḷi grant has remarked, "an utter loss of a feeling for the differences of gender" is noticeable in the person who composed it, for the neuter puvvadattam, 'formerly given', has to be construed along with the masculine sampadatto, 'has been given'. This want of a feeling for gender shows that the Prakrit

of the author had been spoken long enough in the Tamil country for the lack of grammatical gender characteristic of the Tamil language to influence the Prakrit idiom prevalent in the Kañcīpura district. Other influences of Tamil on the language of Śiva Khanda Vamma's grants there are, but they need not be discussed here.

The first Sanskrit inscription published in India is that of Rudradāman of Mālva, of the middle of the II century A. D. From this period onwards, Prakrit inscriptions were rapidly replaced by Sanskrit ones. This fact indicates that Śiva Khanda Vamma probably reigned before the beginning of the III century A.D , if not a little earlier. Foulkes has pointed that these early Pallava grants are dated in the manner prevalent among the Āndhra inscriptions discovered in the Dekkan belonging to the II century A. D. by referring to the tithis of the Solar fortnights of one of the three seasons of the year ; this leads to the idea that the Pallava power prevailed in the Kāñcīpura district in the II century A. D. or earlier. This tentative hypothesis is confirmed by a statement in the Mahāvamsa[13] that Duṭṭhagāmani in 157 B C. (according to the traditioned date and 95 B.C. according to the date for Buddha's nirvāṇa fixed by some European scholars), erected a stupa at Anurādhāpura and, on the occasion of its consecration, the wise Mahādeva came from the monastery of Pallavabhogga with four hundred and sixty thousand Bhikkhus. Foulkes identifies Pallavabhogga with the Kāñcīpura district, and thence concludes that the Pallava kingdom had risen in the II century B C[14]

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[13] Ch. xxix.

[14] J. R. A. S. 1885 art. ix. and 1889 art. xiii.

Besides Bauddha institutions, there must have been Brāhmaṇa ones in the city of Kāñcī. It has already been pointed out that eminent Brāhmaṇa scholars of this city were known to Northerners. About the end of the fourth century A D. there existed at Kāñcī a college for the teaching of Vedic and other Sanskrit lore, where studied Mayūra śarmā, who afterwards founded the Kadamba dynasty of Banavase. Says the Tālaguṇḍa inscription of his great-grandson, Kākustavarmā, Mayūraśarmā with his preceptor, Vīraśarmā, went to the city of the Pallava lords and, eager to study the whole sacred lore, quickly entered the ghaṭika (college) as a mendicant.[15] I imagine that the ghaṭika was not a new one started when the power of the first Pallava dynasty of Kāñci was decaying but was an institution which existed ever since Kāñcī became a centre of Aryan learning and sent learned scholars to North India to take part in the progress of Sanskrit scholarship there.[16]

Neither the city of Kāñcī nor the early Pallava rulers of that place are at all referred to in the early Tamil poems that are now extant This was because the city, though technically within the borders of

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[15] Yaḥ prayāya pallavendrapurīm guruṇā samam Vīraśarmaṇā |
adhījighāmsuḥ pravacanam nikhilam ghaṭikām viveśāśu tarkkukaḥ || Ep. Ind VIII. p 32 V. 10.

[16] I have given a full account of the history of the early Pallava dynasty of Kāñcī so far as information is available, in my Tamil book on the Pallavas, Vol. I. A similar account is unnecessary here, for the early Pallavas were not Tamils, as the latter Pallavas became.

the Tamil country, was in early times a home of Sanskrit and not Tamil culture and was ruled over not by Tamil kings but by Ārya (Aryanized) Rājas. About the end of the IV century A D. as we shall see in the next chapter, it passed temporarily into Tamil hands, and this had a double effect, in that it led to the rapid subjugation of the Tamil genius by Aryan culture and to the spread of Tamil literary culture in the Kāñcīpura district.

CHAPTER XX.

KARIKĀL.

The battle of Veṇṇi:

Karikāl is the first great Tamil King who is mentioned by name in early Tamil poetry; he is eulogized in three odes and two long peoms, all composed by contemporary poets and therefore of great use in reconstructing his life. One of the odes is by a poetess called 'the Potter woman of Veṇṇi'. Veṇṇi otherwise Veṇṇil, is probably the village now called Kōyil-Veṇṇi, a small station of the South Indian Railway in the Tanjore district. In ancient days poetry was a matter of genius and not of scholarship, and the result of the inspiration of the muse and not of the artificial contrivances of pandits. Men and women of all ranks and classes composed poetry, as is evidenced by the ancient anthologies. 'The Potter-woman of Veṇṇi'—Veṇṇikkuyattiyār—sings of Karikāl's defeat of an enemy in the battlefield (paṟandalai, sandy stretch) of Veṇṇi and of tho suicide of his defeated and disgraced foe. The ode runs thus:—"Karikāl, Śōḻa King who are decended from the powerful monarch who ruled the wind and drove the ship on the waste of waters, the sea, and who own very strong elephants, you marched against the enemy and exhibited your might by defeating him. The foe committed suicide on the battlefield of Veṇṇi, the revenues of which are always increasing, for he was ashamed of the wound on the back and desired to obtain

fame in the world; but he is not superior to you"[1]. This battle is also referred to in the splendid poem, Porunarāṟṟuppaḍai—'The Way to Wealth shown to Bards'—which is a description of Karikāl's patronage of poets by one of his proteges, by name Muḍattāmak-kaṇṇiyār (the lame Wearer of Garlands of flowers), one of Karikāl's contemporaries. There the king is described as "Karikāl, the Sōḻa king, with terrible might and the beautiful garland of the flowers of the ātti (Bauhinea Racemosa), fought in the battle-field two great kings who wore on their heads, respectively the tender leaf of the black palmyra and the garland of the black margosa leaves whose edges look like that of the saw."[2] The suicide of a king who was wounded in the back by cutting his throat on the battle field is technically called in old Tamil poetry, 'Being in the north with the sword'; the phrase 'being in the north'

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1 நளியிரு முந்நீர் நாவா யோட்டி
வளிதொழி லாண்ட வுரவோன் மருக
களியியல் யானைக் கரிகால் வளவ
சென்றமர் கடந்தநின் னாற்ற றோன்ற
வென்றோய் நின்னினு நல்ல னன்றே
கலிகொள் யாணர் வெண்ணிப் பறந்தலை
மிகப்புக ழுலக மெய்திப்
புறப்புண் ணாணி வடக்கிருந் தோனே.

Pur. 66.

இரும்பனம் போந்தைத் தோடுங் கருஞ்சினை
யரவாய் வேம்பி னங்குழைத் தெரியலு
மோங்கருஞ் சென்னி மேம்பட மிலைந்த
விருபெரு வேந்தரு மொருகளத் தவிய
வெண்ணித் தாக்கிய வெருவரு நோன்றாள்.

Por. ll. 143-8.

means the giving up of one's life by either turning to the north and killing oneself or going to a Northern place and dying there by starvation. The enemies of Karikāl were one a Pāṇḍiya king and the other a Śēra king. The latter's suicide at the battle of Veṇṇi is also referred to in Agam 55,[3] an ode written probably many years after the occurrence for it is spoken of as a past event. In this ode he is called Śēral Ādan. It is also said that Puṛam 65 celebrates the same event, though there is nothing in the poem itself which refers it to this act of the Śēra king.[4] Probably the editor of Puṛam, finding that Agam 55 referred to Ādan's suicide thought that Puṛam 65 ought also to refer to the same event and has said so in the colophon he added to the ode. In this colophon he is called Peruñjēral Ādan, whereas the Agam calls him Śēral Ādan. Nothing is known about this Śēra, his name occuring only in this colophon and not in any poem.

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[3] கரிகால் வளவனொடு வெண்ணிப் பறந்தலை
பொருது புண்ணாணிய சேரலாத
னழிகள மருங்கின் வாள்வடக் கிருந்தென.

Agam. 55, ll. 10-12.

'That Śēral Ādan fought with Karikāl, the Śōḷa in the field of Veṇṇi, and, ashamed of the wounds (he received), slew himself near the place in which he was defeated.'

[4] தன்போல் வேந்தன் முன்புகுறித் தெறிந்த
புறப்புண் ணாணி மறத்தகை மன்னன்
வாள்வடக் கிருந்தனன்.

Puṛ. 65, 9-10.

'The valiant king got a wound on his back from one whom he regarded as a king equal to him in status and (so) slew himself.'

Early Life of Karikāl:

Porunarāṟṟuppaḍai appears to have been written in the earlier part of Karikāl's reign before he changed his capital from Uṟaiyūr to Kāvirippūmbaṭṭinam (Kāvēri-paṭṭinam) at the mouth of the Kāviri. It refers to his being the posthumous child of Iḷaiyōn meaning the younger. "The child of Iḷaiyōn of the victorious spear and many beautiful chariots, he became a lord who inspired awe (in the minds of his foes) as Murugan's anger does; he inherited his right to the throne while still in his mother's womb. His enemies came to obey his behests. The countries of the kings who did not submit to him were filled with anxiety. As the young sun whose warmth is desired by all spreads his rays on the sea, before gradually rising high in the sky, so when he crawled (as a baby) on the floor, he carried on his shoulders (the burden of) his excellent land and daily increased its prosperity. As the whelp of the lion proud of its great strength, greater than that of the Lord of Death, harasses the deer while still at the breast of its dam, and soon kills the elephant when it hunts for the latter's head,"[5] so Karikāl defeated the Pāṇḍiya and the

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5 வெல்வே

லுருவப் பஃறே ரிளையோன் சிறுவன்
முருகற் சீற்றத் துருகெழு குருசி
லுய்வயிற் றிருந்து தாய மெய்தி
யெய்யாத் தெவ்வ ரேவல் கேட்பச்
செய்யார் தேஎந் தெருமரல் கலிப்பப்
பௌவ மீமிசைப் பகற்கதிர் பரப்பி
வெவ்வெஞ் செல்வன் விசும்புபடர்ந் தாங்குப்

Śēra kings. Here follows the passage already quoted about the battle of Veṇṇi. In a later passage[6] is alluded to an incident of his boyhood. Two elderly people entered his council-chamber and laid before him a dispute that had arisen between them, and he settled it to the satisfaction of both.[6] It is said in a fugitive stanza[7] that on this occasion he wore a grey wig to conceal his extreme youth. In another passage of Porunarāṟṟuppaḍai it is said that he ruled the

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பிறந்துதவழ் கற்றதற் றொட்டுச் சிறந்தநன்
னாடுசெகிற் கொண்டு நாடொறும் வளர்ப்ப
வாளி நன்மா னணங்குடைக் குருளை
மீளி மொய்ம்பின் மிகுவலி செருக்கி
முலைக்கோள் விடாவு மாத்திரை ஞெரேரெனத்
தலைக்கோள் வேட்டங் களிறட் டாஅங்கு.

Por. ll. 129-142.

முதியோ
[6] ரவைபுகு பொழுதிற்றம் பகைமுரண் செலவும்.

Ib. ll. 187-188.

[7] உரைமுடிவு காணா னிளமையோ னென்ற
நரைமுது மக்களுவப்ப—நரைமுடித்துச்
செல்லான் முறைசெய்தான் சோழன் குலவிச்சை
கல்லாமற் பாகம் படும்.

Palamoli. 25.

'The grey-haired old men said that the young man could not come to a decision about their case. They were delighted to find that the Sōḻa wore a grey wig, and understood the case from listening to their statements. This proves that even before they learn the arts suited to their caste, men are ripe (for their dutie).'

Palamoli 25.

whole world under one umbrella.[8] This may mean that he established his rule over the whole of the Tamil world after defeating his rival monarchs, the Pāṇḍiya and the Śērā at Veṇṇi. But as he is in the last line of the same poem, specifically called "the Lord of the land which the Kāviri nourishes,"[9] we may take it that Karikāl did not annex the Pāṇḍiya and the Śēra countries, but merely claimed homage from their kings.

Early patronage of poets:

During the years when he ruled the Kāviri valley from Uṛaiyūr, he was as great a patron of poets as Bhoja was in later times. This is Mudattāmakkaṇṇyiār's account of his reception at Karikāl's court. "Like a bird that flies to a tree bearing fruit, I went to the broad palace wall which resounded with a loud noise and entered the beautiful gateway which was never closed to the needy, without informing the porter. My emaciated body was relieved of its weariness. Playing on my small drum whose sides displayed, where my fingers touched them, marks like those on the expanded hood of a cobra, I sang keeping measure with the double beat of the drum, so that my poverty might be relieved. It was the dawn and Venus with her expansive rays was risen. The king desired to treat me like one of his relatives and spoke in such a complimentary way that I desired to be frequently a solicitor for his

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[8] ஒரு குடையா னொன்று கூறப்
பெரிதாண்ட.

Por. ll. 228-229.

[9] காவிரி புரக்கு நாடுகிழ வோனே.

Ib. l. 248.

help. He gave me a seat near him, that I might be always in his eye. He looked at me so kindly that my bones became soft like wax. He made me discard my clothes which teemed with lice, were torn and restitched in a number of places and gave me, instead, clothes so embroidered with flowers as to look like the skin of a serpent and so fine that the threads of which they were woven could not be traced with the eyes. His servant-maids, who were fair, bejewelled and smiling, frequently poured intoxicating wine into gold cups as unstintingly as the rain pours water. I had my fill of it so that my weariness was relieved. When evening came I was full of joy and then took rest in his beautiful palace. As ascetics keep up their bodies for a long time to enjoy (in their physical bodies) the benefits of their asceticism, so I was relieved of the weariness of the travel and the only agitation I had was the tremor of my limbs due to much drinking. People who had noticed my look of poverty the previous evening, were astonished to see me the next morning so charged with scents as to attract bees. I thought it was all a dream but was exhilarated to find that it was a reality. Other poor people were delighted to find me so. Boys swore that though altered I was the same man as the beggar of the previous day."[10] Besides giving to

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[10] பழுமர முள்ளிய பறவையின் யானுமவ
ணிழுமென் சும்மை யிடனுடை வரைப்பி
னசையுநர்த் தடையா நன்பெரு வாயி
லிசையேன் புக்கென் னிடும்பை தீர
வெய்த்த மெய்யே னெய்யே னாகிப்
பைத்த பாம்பின் றுத்தி யேய்ப்பக்
கைக்கச டிருந்தவென் கண்ணகன் றடாரி

poets food and drink in plenty the king gave them silk

யிருசீர்ப் பாணிக் கேற்ப விரிகதிர்
வெள்ளி முளைத்த நள்ளிருள் விடிய
லொன்றியான் பெட்டா வளவையி னொன்றிய
கேளிர் போல கேள்கொளல் வேண்டி
வேளாண் வாயில் வேட்பக் கூறிக்
கண்ணிற் காண நண்ணுவழி யிரீஇப்
பருகு வன்ன வருகா நோக்கமோ
டுருகு பவைபோ லென்பு குளிர்கொளீஇ
யீரும் பேனு மிருந்திறை கூடி
வேரொடு நனைந்து வேற்றிழை நுழைந்த
துன்னற் சிதா அர் துவர நீக்கி
நோக்கு நுழைகல்லா நுண்மைய பூக்கனிந்
தரவுரி யன்ன வறுவை நல்கி
மழையென் மருளு மகிழ் செய்மாடத்
திழையணி வனப்பி னின்னகை மகளிர்
போக்கில் பொலங்கல நிறையப் பல்கால்
வாக்குபு தரத்தர வருத்தம் வீட
வார வுண்டு பேரஞர் போக்கிச்
செருக்கொடு நின்ற காலை மற்றவன்
றிருக்கிளர் கோயி லொருசிறைத் தங்கித்
தவஞ்செய் மாக்க டம்முடம் பிடாஅ
ததன்பய மெய்திய வளவை மான
வாறுசெல் வருத்த மகல நீக்கி
யனந்தர் நடுக்க மல்ல தியாவது
மனங் கவல் பின்றி மாழாந் தெழுந்து
மாலை யன்னதோர் புன்மையுங் காலைக்
கண்டோர் மருளும் வண்டுசூழ் நிலையுங்
கனவென மருண்டவென் னெஞ்சே மாப்ப
வல்லஞர் பொத்திய மனமகிழ் சிறப்பக்

clothes with the loose ends of threads knotted,[11] flowers made of gold in the shape of the lotus,[12] and tall chariots with crowns made of ivory and drawn by four white horses with waving manes.[13]

Later life:

The other long poem sung in praise of Karikāl is Paṭṭinappālai, 'the parting-song in which Kāvirippūm-paṭṭinam is described' by Uruttiraṅgaṉṉaṉār of Kaḍiyalūr. Therein the author informs his mind which desires to go to Kāvirippūmbaṭṭinam for earning presents from Karikāl that he would not part from his beloved and accompany his mind to that city. From this poem we learn that Karikāl in the course of his reign changed his capital from Uṛaiyūr to this flourishing sea-port. He gave up Uṛandai (i.e., Uṛaiyūr) whose mansions possessed high doors, after establishing in their palaces (its old) families, and building great and small gateways in its forewalls where the goddess of fortune resided and providing its bastions with bundles of arrows.[14]

கல்லா விளைஞர் சொல்லிக் காட்ட.
Por. 64-100.

11 தூய
கொட்டைக் கரைய பட்டுடை நல்கி.
Ib. 11.

12 எடிருமரை. Ib. l. 159.

13 கோட்டிற் செய்த கொடிஞ்சி நெடுந்தே
ரூட்டுளை துயல்வர வோரி நுடங்கப்
பால்புரை புரவி நால்குடன் பூட்டி.
Ib. 163-165.

14 பிறங்கு நிலை மாடத்துறந்தை போக்கிக்
கோயிலொடு குடிநிறீஇ
வாயிலொடு புழையமைத்து
ஞாயிறொறு புகை நிறீஇப். Paṭ. ll. 285-8.

This poem describes the martial exploits of Karikāl from his youth onwards. Being a posthumous son, he did not succeed to the Śōḻā throne without trouble. When young he was imprisoned possibly by usurpers and fought his way to freedom. As the poet says, "As the tiger-cub, whose claws are sharp and which bears (on its skin) curved stripes, grows in strength while confined in its cage, his might ripened when he was kept in the well-guarded house of his enemies; he decided to escape and, as the large-trunked elephant (caught in a pit) breaks the pit-wall, fills the pit with the earth and runs away to its mate, he with his sword cut his way through the thick ranks of the guard around his prison-house. He thus obtained the right to the powerful (Śōḻa) throne."[15] Not satisfied with the royal rights he thus obtained "he proceeded against other countries. His elephants with (prominent) nails on their legs kicked the crowned black heads of his enemies and destroyed their fortifications and broke with tusks their gates."[16] "He quelled with his fierce

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15 . . . . கூருகிர்க்
கொடுவரிக் குருளை கூட்டுள் வளர்ந்தாங்குப்
பிறர், பிணியகத் திருந்து பீடுகாழ் முற்றி
யருங்கரை கவியக் குத்திக் குழிகொன்று
பெருங்கையானை பிடிபுக் காங்கு
நுண்ணிதி னுணர நாடி நண்ணார்
செறிவுடைத் திண்காப் பேறி வாள்கழித்
துருகெழு தாய மூழி னெய்தி.

Ib. ll. 220-27.

16 பெற்றவை மகிழ்தல் செய்யான் செற்றோர்
கடியரண் டொலைத்த கதவுகொன் மருப்பின்
முடியுடைக் கருந்தலைப் புரட்டு முன்றா
ளுகிருடை யடிய வோங்கெழில் யானை.

Ib. ll. 228-31.

red looks the might of the Pāṇḍiya who used to boast of his fearlessness in facing his enemies and who was strong enough to destroy the forts of kings with his great army."[17] He decided to enlarge his dominions in all directions. "He destroyed the power of the many Oḷiya chiefs; the ancient lords of the Aruvā country became subservient to him; the kings of the North lost their splendour; those of Kuḍanāḍu were depressed by him; all the branches of the low herdsman dynasty were rooted out as also the family of Iruṅgōvēḷ."[18] Of this list, the Iruṅgōvēḷ chief ruled in the district south of the Śōḻa kingdom with Koḍumbāḷūr (an ancient town now in the Pudukotta state, on the road from Trichinopoly to Madura) as his capital. The Aruvā and Oḷiya chiefs ruled over the districts between the Śōḻā and the Pallava dominions. Having conquered these, Karikāl subjugated the Northern King (Vaḍavar) i.e. the Pallava

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[17] தென்னவன் றிறல் கெடச் சீறிமன்னர்
மன்னெயில் கதுவு மதனுடை நோன்றாண்
மாத்தானை மறமொய்ம்பிற்
செங்கண்ணாற் செயிர்த்து நோக்கி

Ib. ll. 277-280.

[18] பல்லொளியர் பணிபொடுங்கத்
தொல்லருவாளர் தொழில் கேட்ப
வடவர் வாடக் குடவர் கூம்பத்
தென்னவன் றிறல்கெடச் சீறி மன்னர்
மன்னெயில் கதுவு மதனுடை நோன்றாண்
மாத்தானை மறமொய்ம்பிற்
செங்கண்ணாற் செயிர்த்து நோக்கிப்
புன்பொதுவர் வழிபொன்ற
விருங்கோவேண் மருங்கு சாயக்.

Ib. ll. 274-282

Rajas of Kāñci. He pushed beyond and brought under his sway the Poduva chieftains, who ruled over the Cudappa and Kurnool districts. The word Poduvar means herdsman chiefs and must refer to the rulers of the pastoral tribes that inhabited the Mūllai region north of the Marudam lands belonging to the Pallavas. The herdsman brought under Kariāl's sway were Kuṛumbas, like those who inhabit these districts even to-day, and weave the famous kambaḷis of that region. "The famous victor, the Śōḻa, Karikāl, protected the families of the Kuṛumbar who tend (flocks) on the hill-tops."[19] There is also plenty of epigraphical evidence to support the fact deduced from this poem that Karikāl's sway extended north up to the Ceded Districts, which will be discussed presently.

The poem also says that Karikāl destroyed forests and turned them into habitable places.[20] The commentator explains that this was done in the Śōḻa country; but that country was fully inhabited from a long time before this monarch, and therefore this exploit must refer to the thinly populated districts Cudappa and Kurnool.[21] "The local records reveal

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[19] குறும்பறை பயற்றுஞ்
செல்குடி நிறுத்த பெரும் பெயர்க் கரிகால்
வெல்போர்ச் சோழன்.

Agam. 141 ll. 21-23.

[20] காடு கொன்று நாடாக்கி.

Paṭ. l. 283.

[21] There was absolutely no desert land in the Śōḻa country, so much so that it was described as நால் நாடு (the four regions) and not the five regions.

Por. l. 226.

the fact that people of Cudappa and Kurnool districts (the ancient Rēnāḍu) still remember the invasion of Karikāl. According to one Kaifyat, Karikāla Mahārāja of Śūryavamśa, having conquered the west, obtained possession of this country. He had the forest cleared on the southern slopes of Karigiri hill where he founded a village called Pottāpi. He encouraged the growth of a number of villages in its neighbourhood; and as Pottāpi was the most important of them, the group of villages around it acquired the name of Pottāpināḍu."[22] That the tradition embodied in the above extract is the correct explanation of the poet's remark that Karikāl destroyed forests and turned them into habitable places there can be no doubt. We may hence conclude that Karikāl's sway extended over the whole of the Tamil land and a part of the Telugu Country beyond and that under his rule the land was prosperous because he developed the agricultural activities of the people and encouraged trade.

The new capital:

He seems to have changed his capital from Uṛaiyūr to the ancient seaport of Kāvirippūmbaṭṭinam, first because he could control his possessions by means of his naval power and secondly because he could better encourage foreign trade from that place and thus increase his revenue. The Paṭṭinappālai tells us that he built round the city "strong walls in which the goddess of victory resided and furnished it with a door (made of beams)

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[22] N. Venkataramanaiya quoting from L. R. vol. 22, p. 141, in the Madras Christian College Magazine for Jan. 1929.

joined together, on which his tiger-crest was carved."[23] This poem elaborately describes the city and its suburbs. Being the earliest description of a Tamil city, and, unlike the accounts in the Sanskrit literature, entirely realistic and without exaggeration, except in one phrase, it deserves to be reproduced here. "It was the day of the full moon. The big red-haired fishermen did not go on the broad black cool sea to fish. In the middle of the hamlet with low roofs against which were leant long angling-rods, in their huts in the front of which was spread sand with their nets drying thereon, looking like alternating patches of moonlight and darkness, they, along with their black women who wore the leaf-garment planted the horn of the gravid shark. In honour of the powerful god dwelling in the horn, they hung (round their necks) garlands of the cool flowers of the white convolvulus growing low at the foot of the screw-pine which has aerial roots, they wore on their hair the long-petalled flower of the Pandanus, they drank the toddy from the rough-barked palmyra and also rice-liquor and played on the sandy stretch of the beach. At the noisy mouth of the river where the Kāviri mixes its (muddy) waters with the clear water of the sea looking like the red evening cloud on a black hill, and the (red-haired) child at the breast of (its black) mother, they bathed to get rid of their sins; and, to get rid of the salt (of the sea-water), they bathed in the flood. They played with crabs and on the broad

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[23] புவிப்பொறிப் போர்க்கதவிற்
றிருத்துஞ்சுந் திண்காப்பு.

Paṭ. ll. 40-41.

wave; they made images [of grass], enjoyed many things which appealed to their senses, and played all day without being satiated. They then fell asleep on the sweet-smelling sands of the great Kāviri.

"Those who lived on the banks of the river which never fails, where flowers are strewn in mansions standing on pillars as high as the heaven which is difficult to reach and which has endured for long, listened to songs, witnessed with pleasure dramas;[24] women enjoyed the moonlight, drank strong liquor instead of toddy, changed silk clothes for muslins, and embraced their husbands and went to sleep in the last watch of the right. At such a time, (on account of intoxication) men wore women's garlands and women wore men's garlands. The fishermen when they went (early in the morning) with their boats on the sea could count the lamps set in rows in those mansions, which continued still to burn, while (their inmates were) sleeping.

"Near the well-guarded warehouses in the broad street of the merchants who reside on the beach where abounds the Pandanus whose long petalled flowers grow in clusters, endless articles lie crowded outside the warehouses so that they may be stamped with the terrible tiger-emblem (of the Śōḻas) and the amount of customs due on them estimated before they are carried to the ships; and outside the ships lie pack-

[24] The word used is the Śanskrit nātaka, the first use of the word in Tamil poetry. It probably meant dumb-show, which was the form of drama prevalent in South India before it came in contact with Sanskrit drama.

ages stamped with the tiger-emblem, so that the dues on them may be estimated before they are taken away. This (alternate) importation and exportation resembles the pouring of the rain on the hills by the clouds which have taken in water from the sea, and the flowing of the rain which has fallen on the hills down to the sea. The officers famous from old times for safe-guarding the revenues of the good king, collect the customs dues all day long without weariness, like the horses yoked to the chariot of the sun whose rays are hot like raging anger.

"The houses have a front yard where the sharp-clawed peacock, looking like the varuḍai (a fabulous eight-legged bird) on the hill on whose tops the clouds rove and on whose sides the bamboos grow, and the bent-legged bull and the ram gambol about. Round the houses run platforms with short steps below and long ladders leaning on them; they have a series of quadrangles and doorways both small and large, and long corridors. The houses are as high as the clouds and possess windows through which the breeze blows. Near the windows stand girls with red soles, thick thighs, yellow jewels (made of gold), broad forelaps, thin garments, complexion like the coral, looks like the deer, gentle speech like the parrot, and beauty like the peacock.'[25]

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25 நெடுந்தூண்டிலிற் காழ்சேர்த்திய
குறுங்கூரைக் குடிநாப்ப
ணிலவடைந்த விருள்போல
வலையுணங்கு மணன்முன்றில்
வீழ்த்தாழைத் தாட்டாழ்ந்த

The imports of the place were "horses which held

வெண்கூ தாளத்துத் தண்பூங் கோதையர்
சினைச் சுறவின் கோடுநட்டு
மனைச்சேர்த்திய வல்லணங்கினான்
மடற்றாழை மலர்மலைந்தும்
பிணர்ப்பெண்ணைப் பிழிமாந்தியும்
புன்றலை யிரும்பரதவர்
பைந்தழைமா மகளிரொடு
பாயிரும் பனிக்கடல் வேட்டஞ் செல்லா
துவவுமடிந் துண்டாடியும்
புலருமணற் பூக்கானன்
மாமலை யணைந்த கொண்மூப் போலவுந்
தாய்முலை தழுவிய குழவி போலவுந்
தேறுநீர்ப் புணரியோ டியாறுதலை மணக்கு
மலி யோதத் தொலிகூடற்
றீதுநீங்கக் கடலாடியு
மாசு போகப் புனல்படிந்து
மலவ னாட்டியு முரவுத்திரை யுழக்கியும்
பாவை சூழ்ந்தும் பல்பொறி மருண்டு
மகலாக் காதலொடு பகல்விளை யாடிப்
பெறற்கருந் தொல்சீர்த் துறக்க மேய்க்கும்
பொய்யா மரபிற் பூமலி பெருந்துறைத்
துணைப்புணர்ந்த மடமங்கையர்
பட்டுநீக்கித் துகிலுடுத்து
மட்டுநீக்கி மதுமகிழ்ந்து
மைந்தர் கண்ணி மகளிர்சூடவு
மகளிர் கோதை மைந்தர் மலையவு
நெடுங்கான் மாடத் தொள்ளெரி நோக்கிக்
கொடுந்திமிற் பரதவர் குரூஉச்சுட ரெண்ணவும்
பாட லோர்த்து நாடக நயந்தும்
வெண்ணிலவின் பயன்றுய்த்துங்
கண்ணடைஇய கடைக்கங்குலான்

their heads high, and pepper in bagfuls, (both of which

மாஅகாவிரி மணங்கூட்டுந்
தூஉவெக்கர்த் துயின்மடிந்து
வாலிணர் மடற்றாழை
வேலாழி வியன்றெருவி
னல்லிறைவன் பொருள்காக்குந்
தொல்லிசைத் தொழின்மாக்கள்
காய்சினத்த கதிர்ச்செல்வன்
தேர் பூண்ட மாஅ போல
வைகறொறு மசைவின்றி
யுல்கு செயக் குறைபடாது
வான்முகந்தநீர் மலைப்பொழியவு
மலைப்பொழிந்தநீர் கடற்பரப்பவு
மாரிபெய்யும் பருவம் போல
நீரினின்று நிலத்தேற்றவு
நிலத்தினின்று நீர்ப்பரப்பவு
மளந்தறியாப் பலபண்டம்
வரம்பறியாமை வந்தீண்டி
யருங்கடிப் பெருங்காப்பின்
வலியுடை வல்லணங்கினோன்
புலிபொறித்துப் புறம்போக்கி
மதிநிறைந்த மலிபண்டம்
பொதிமூடைப் போரேறி
மழையாடு சிமைய மால்வரைக் கவாஅன்
வரையாடு வருடைத் தோற்றம் போலக்
கூருகிர் ஞமலிக் கொடுந்தா ளேற்றை
யேழகத் தகரோ டுகளு முன்றிற்
குறுந்தொடை நெடும்படிக்காற்
கொடுந்திண்ணைப் பஃறகைப்பிற்
புழைவாயிற் போகிடைகழி
மழைதோயு முயர் மாடத்துச்
சேவடிச் செறிகுறங்கிற்
பாசிழைப் பகட்டல்குற்
றூசுடைத் துகிர்மேனி
மயிலியன் மானோக்கிற்
கிளிமழலை மென் சாயலோர்.

Pat. ll. 90-150.

came) in ships propelled by the wind, gems and gold from the Northern mountains, sandal-wood and agil-wood from the western mountains, pearls born in the Southern ocean, corals born in the Eastern sea, articles from the Gāngā, the produce of the Kāviri (valley), food-stuffs from Ceylon, manufactures of Burmah and other rare things (which the commentator says were camphor, rose-water, saffron etc., from China) and other important articles.[26] The poet also tells us that in the streets of the city could be seen men who talked many tongues. Hence we may believe that Kāvirippūmbaṭṭinam was a flourishing seaport in the days of Karikāl.

Aryan culture in the city:

Chiefly on account of this trade, there was much closer intercourse between this Tamil port and North India. Hence Āryan culture spread in it sooner than in the rest of the Tamil country and attained there an influence which it did not possess in other places. According to the testimony of this poem, in Kāvirippūmbaṭṭinam there were "monasteries for (Bauddha and Jaina) ascetics, and groves where the sweet smelling smoke from the ghi poured by the fire-

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26 நீரின் வந்த நிமிர்பரிப் புரவியுங்
காலின் வந்த கருங்கறி மூடையுங்
வடமலைப் பிறந்த மணியு பொன்னுங்
குடமலைப் பிறந்த வாரமு மகிலுந்
தென்கடன் முத்துங் குணகடற் றுகிருங்
கங்கைவாரியுங் காவிரிப் பயனு
மீழத் துணவுங் காழகத் தாக்கமு
மரியவும் பெரியவு நெரிய வீண்டி.

Ib. ll. 185-192,

worshipping Ṛṣis with bright locks of hair, drove out the cuckoos with their black mates."[27] This is the first time we hear in Tamil literature of settlements of Brāhmaṇas, Bauddhas and Jainas in any city of the Tamil country (other than Kāñcī). By this time Kāvirippūmbaṭṭinam must have become a great centre of Āryan influence, for in another passage we read that as in Āryan provinces, dialecticians (we may presume they were disputants in logic) " who were authoritative masters of many works which they had learnt fully, planted their terrible flags inviting debate' in that city.[28] The cults of the Brāhmaṇas had spread among the people in the city, for its merchants " worshipped the amaras (the Vedic gods), gave them fire-offerings, reared cows and bulls (for offering in yajña) and upheld the glory of the Brāhmaṇas who know the four Vedas."[29] The amaras of undying fame are also referred

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27 தவப் பள்ளி தாழ்காவி
னவிர்சடை முனிவ ரங்கி வேட்கு
மாவுதி நறும்புகை முனைஇக் குயிறம்
மாயிரும் பெடையோ டிரியல் போகி.

Ib. ll. 53-56.

28 பல்கேள்வித் துறைபோகிய
தொல்லாணை நல்லாசிரிய
ருறழ்குறித் தெடுத்த வுருகெழு கொடியும்.

Por. ll. 169-71.

29 அமரர்ப் பேணியு மாவுதி யருத்தியும்
நல்லாவொடு பகடோம்பியும்
நான்மறையோர் புகழ்பரப்பியும்.

Ib. ll. 200-202.

to as the guardians of the city.[30] "The god installed faultlessly and excellently"[31] seems also to be an Aryan god.

The old Tamil gods also worshipped :

Not that the old Tamil gods had at all given way on the onslaught of the Aryan ones ; they too flourished in the city. "In the market street there were ceaseless festivals to Murugan in which women, obsessed by him, danced, and the flute and the yāḻ were sounded, and the drums, beaten."[32] By this time Murugan had apparently migrated to the valleys. The worship of dead heroes who had become gods and were represented by upright stones planted in their memory and furnished with a shield and spear also continued.[33] So, too, as has been already mentioned, the worship of

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[30] செல்லா நல்லிசை அமரர் காப்பின்.

Ib. l. 184.

[31] மையறு சிறப்பிற் றெய்வம் சேர்ப்பிய.

Ib. l. 159.

[32] செவ்வேள்
வெறியாடு மகளிரொடு செறியத் தாஅய்க்
குழலகவ யாழ்முரல
முழவதிர முரசியம்ப
விழவறா வியலாவணத்து.

Ib. ll. 154-158.

[33] இடுகு நிரைத் தெஃகூன்றி
நடுகல்லி னரண் போல.

Ib. 78-79.

the sea-god, symbolized by a shark's horn. The pillar-god was also worshipped: he was, probably a lingam or a mere post placed in the podiyil (place of assembly), which was washed with a solution of cowdung by girls captured in raids, after they had bathed in the ford and purified their bodies by bathing, and where in the evening they lighted lamps and decorated the pillar-god with flowers. Many people worshipped this god.[34] This pillar was called Kandu. Most probably Kandaḻi mentioned as an object of hymns in Tolkāppiyam, Poruḷadigāram ii 33, was but a variant of Kandu. Naccinārkkiniyar, the commentator, explains Kandaḻi, as 'the principle beyond all manifested ones, which stands alone without form and without attachment' This explanation is clearly unacceptable, because the high degree of abstraction implied in this concept is nowhere found in early Tamil poetry; and the idea of hymning the Impersonal is totally foreign to ancient Tamil genius; so much so that the commentator is not able to give a single specimen of such hymns.

Karikāl's patronage of the fire-rite:

One result of Karikāl's coming into intimate contact with Aryan culture in his new capital was that his imagination was captivated by the gorgeous fire-rites performed by the Brāhmaṇas and he thus became the

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34 கொண்டி மகளி ருண்டுறை மூழ்கி
யந்தி மாட்டிய நந்தா விளக்கின்
மலரணி மெழுக்க மேறிப் பலர்தொழு
வம்பலர் சேக்குங் கந்துடைப் பொதியில்.

Ib. ll. 246-249.

first Tamil king that patronised the costly vedic yajñas. The earliest description of a great Śrauta rite performed in the Tamil country is found in the eulogy sung by Karungulal Ādanār on the occasion of Karikāl's death. It runs thus:—"In the assembly of great (Brāhmaṇas) who had mastered the Dharma, those who were well versed in the methods (of vedic sacrifices) guided the conduct of the ceremonies. The sacrificial hall was round and surrounded by several protecting walls. In it was a place built in the shape of an eagle. At a tall Yūpa-pillar planted there, (the sacrificers) conducted the vedic Yajña, along with their wives whose character was praised by all and who were inspired by the strict rule of chastity."[35]

Imitation of Karikāl's patronage of the fire-rite by later kings:

The fashion of patronizing the Vedic yajñas started by Karikāl was soon imitated by other Tamil kings. Of Palyānaiccelkelu Kūṭṭavan of the Śēra dynasty it is recorded in late traditions that he helped the poet Pālaik-kaudamanār, the poet who sang about him in the third of the Ten Tens, to perform ten Yāgams, at the end of which celebration, the poet and his wife went

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[35] அறமறக் கண்ட நெறிமாண வையத்து
முறைநற் கறியுநர் முன்னுறப் புகழ்ந்த
தூவியற் கொள்கைத் துகளறு மகளிரொடு
பருதியுருவிற் பல்படைப் புரிசை
யெருவை நுகர்ச்சி யூப நெடுந்தூண்
வேத வேள்வித் தொழின்முடித் ததூஉம்.

Puṟ. 224. ll. 4-9.

straight to svarga. Palyāgaśālai Mudu Kūdumi, a Pandya monarch patronized several yāgams. He gifted to a Brāhmana sacrificer certain lands which became the subject of a dispute in the VIII century A.D. and were regiven to the donee's descendant, this time to the accompaniment of a copperplate grant. One Perunarkilli, a successor of Karikāl, got himself crowned in accordance with vedic ceremonies and took on the title of Irāśaśūyam vētta, who performed the Rājasūya sacrifice. Notwithstanding this rite the Śōla dynasty was subverted soon after the event and almost disappeared from South Indian history for a few centuries.

Brāhmana Tamil poets :

Another result of the total subjugation of Karikāl's imagination by Āryan culture was the rise of several Brāhmana Tamil poets. This broke the dam that kept back Tamil poets from Āryan ideas. Āryan beliefs, Aryan superstitions, Āryan customs (and Sanskrit words) freely entered Tamil life and are referred to in Tamil poetry, side by side with old South Indian ideas, beliefs, superstitions and customs. The poems which exhibit these can be easily seen to be later than the ones where the Aryan element is entirely lacking. Tamil Kings, too, sought affiliation with the Puranic dynasties, Solar and Lunar. Illustrations of all these will be given in a later chapter.

Light thrown by Epigraphy on Karikāl's life :

So far we have considered the career of Karikāl on the basis of contemporary literary evidence. Epigraphic confirmation of some of the events of Karikāl's life can be derived from the traditions

recorded in the epigraphs of an age later than this Śōḻa monarch's. Thus the inscriptions of Rēṇāḍu, mostly unpublished (one of which was referred to earlier) testify to Karikāl's conquest of that district, his clearing forests, establishment of towns, institution of irrigation systems and foundation of a dynasty of Telugu-speaking Cōḍa kings, who were his descendants. "The existence of a Kingdom called Chu-li-ye in the time of the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang (640 A. D.) somewhere about the tract of country in which we find these Telugu records is conclusive proof that this kingdom existed in the VII century A. D."[36] Of the plates of this family the Mālēpāḍu plates of Pūṇyakūmāra have been published in the Epigraphia Indica Vol. XI. Some time after Karikāl's reign, kings of this dynasty became subject to the Pallavas of Kañcī. After a time the family seems to have dispersed. "Some of them became subordinate to the western Chālukyas who conquered and occupied the northern portion of the Pallava country. A collateral branch appears to have adventured further north to seek service in Chakrakōṭa under the Nāgavamsi King, Jagadēkabhūṣana Mahārāja (A. D. 1060-1061").[37] In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there flourished in Guntur, Nellore, North Arcot, Cudappah and Chingleput districts influential kings of the Telugu-Cōḷa (now changed into Telugu Cōḍa) family who owed allegiance to the Kākatīyas of Warangal.[38] The Kākatīyas themselves

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[36] Ep. Ind. Vol. xi. p. 344.

[37] Madras Ep. report for 1909. p. 112. The so-called Gond dynasty of the Central Provinces was founded by them.

[38] Ib. for 1900, p. 17. b.

trace their descent from the sun and can count among their mythical ancestors the ancient king Karikāla Cōḷa.[39] In the Anantapur district and the bordering Kanarese country there flourished also a branch of these Cōḷās. Even as late as the XVI century A. D. Cōḷa chiefs with the traditionary legend of descent from Karikāla and lordship over the ancient town of Uraiyūru are found serving as viceroys under Vijayanagara rulers.[40] Very great must have been the impression left by Karikāl on the imagination of the Telugu people at the dawn of their history for almost every Telugu dynasty to claim descent from him.

Karikāl and the Kāviri:

These Telugu records refer to Karikāl's achievement in "stopping the overflow over its banks of the (water of) the daugher of Kavēra (i.e. the river Kāvēri").[41] This phrase is made clear in the Tiruvālaṇgāḍu plates of the VI year of Rajēndra Śōḷadēvar I, which say that Karikāl constructed embankments for the Kāviri river.[42] That river flooded the country around every year so systematically that the lower valley of the Kāviri got in ancient times the name of Punal nūḍu, the land of floods. Karikāl apparently rescued the land from this annual visitation by building high flood-banks. This work of Karikāl is not specifically referred to in the Paṭṭinappālai which merely states that "he dug tanks and increased the prosperity of the land."[43] This work

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[39] Ib. p. 106, para 44.

[40] Ep. Ind. Vol. XI, p. 344.

[41] Ib. p. 339.

[42] S. I. I. III. iii. p. 386.

[43] குளந் தொட்டு வளம் பெருக்கி. Paṭ. l. 284.

does not seem to have appealed to the imagination of contemporary poets as much as it did to that of men of a later age.[44] But as two independent series of inscriptions—the Telugu and the Tamil ones—specifically mention this tradition, we may well believe that the embankment of the Kāviri was one of Karikāl's minor achievements in the earlier part of his reign.[45] The great productivity of the Kāviri valley is thus described by Muḍattāmakkaṇṇiyār in the closing lines of Porunarāṟṟuppaḍai. "Bending their backs they reaped the paddy with the edges of their sickles, made heaps of rice-sheaves as high as hills, daily stacked the paddy in never-decreasing ricks which looked like hills, poured it fully in barns which stood close to each other, for every vēli of land enclosed by dykes produced a thousand kalams of good paddy."[46] This liberal yield could have been obtained

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[44] e.g., the author of Kalingattupparaṇi st. 184.

[45] Porunarāṟṟuppaḍai, ll. 240-241, says நுரைத்தலைக் குரைப்புனல் வரைப்பகம் புதுதொறும் புனலாடு மகளிர், 'women bathe in the foaming and roaring water when it enters the bound area.' The commentator explains the last phrase as 'tanks and ponds'; but women bathed not in tanks and ponds but in the river itself, when the freshes came. Therefore I am inclined to interpret the phrase வரைப்பகம், as 'the place where the river was embanked,' and to see in it an allusion to the fact discussed above.

[46] கூனிக் குயத்தின் வாய்நெல் லரிந்து
சூடுகோ டாகப் பிறக்கி நாடொறுங்
குன்றெனக் குவைஇய குன்றாக் குப்பை
கடுந்தெற்று மூடையி னிடங்கெடக் கிடக்குஞ்
சாலி நெல்லின் சிறைகொள் வேலி
யாயிரம் விளையுட் டாக.

Por. ll. 242-247.

only if Karikāl had scientifically regulated the flow of water in the Kāviri. V. Kanakasabai, who is sometimes inaccurate in quoting references, says that Karikāl "constructed sluices and canals to distribute and regulate the water-supply" from the Kāviri, and refers to Śilappadigāram, X. ll. 108-111 as his authority.[47] The passage referred does not at all refer to any achievement of Karikāl's but merely says, that 'when the tide of the sea is high, the freshes of the Kāviri slope back from its mouth and water flows fast into its channels, sounding ceaselessly."[48] This can only prove that there existed irrigation-channels cut from the Kāviri in the age when this poem was composed, which was sometime after Karikāl's time.

V. A. Smith has said that Karikāl "is represented by the early poets as having invaded Ceylon and carried off thence thousands of coolies to work on the embankments of the Kāvēri river, a hundred miles in length, which he constructed. He founded Kāvirppaddinam."[49] This is a tissue of mistatements. No early poet has referred to Karikal's invasion of Ceylon or his carrying off captives. These statements are found only in very late Ceylonese legendry chronicles. There is, besides, no mention anywhere of an embankment 100 miles long. How short or how long Karikāl's embankment was, it is impossible to find out. Karikāl did not found

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[47] The Tamils Eighteen Hundred years Ago, p. 68.

[48] கடல்வள னெதிர்க் கயவாய் நெரிக்குங்
காவிரிப் புதுநீர்க் கடுவரல் வாய்த்தலை
யோவிறந் தொலிக்கும்.

Ib. x. 107—9.

[49] The Early History of India, 4th. ed. p. 481.

Kāvirippaṭṭinam, for it existed a thousand years before his time, since it is mentioned in the Jātaka Tales, and probably was a seaport long before those Tales were born.

Karikāl and Trilocana Pallava :

The Telugu inscriptions also bear testimony to the fact that this work was done at the instance of Karikāl "by Trilocana and other kings who fixed their glances on his lotus feet......Trilocana, Trinetra, Trinayana and Mukkanṭi are synonymous terms and occur frequently in Telugu epigraphs with the suffix Pallava."[50] The history of the Pallavas is divisible into three distinct periods, (1) that of the Pallavas who ruled with Kāñci as their capital and Dhanakaṭaka, on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā, as their sub-capital, patronized vedic rites and issued their charters in Prakrit, whose rule was quenched sometime after 350 A.D., about which date one Viṣṇugopa reigned there, as mentioned in Samudra Gupta's Praśasti at Allahabad, (2) that of the Pallavas some of whom were but titular lords of Kāñcī but who issued their charters in Sanskrit from places other than that city and situated in the Telugu districts on the East Coast and who flourished in the V century A.D., (3) that of the Pallavas who again ruled from Kāñcī, whose inscriptions are both in Sanskrit and Tamil, who built several temples and had become assimilated with the Tamils before 600 A.D. These flourished from the middle of the VI century to the end of the IX century. The second period (that between the middle of the IV century and the middle of the VI century) was the time when the Pallavas had no hold over

[50] Ep. Ind. vol. xi. p. 340.

Kāñcī. Probably it was Karikāl who drove them from Kāñcī and most probably Trilōcaṇa Pallava was the person who was displaced from Kāñcī by him and sought dominion in the Telugu country, as a tributary of the great Śola monarch. Trilocana's name does not occur in the genealogies of the East coast Pallava Sanskrit charters, but "the Kadambas of Goa and Noḷambas of Hēmāvatī claim, respectively, Trilocana Kādamba and Trinayana Pallava as the founders of these dynasties."[51] Trilocana founded a town called Trilocanapura, which is now called Peddamuḍiyam, and is situated in the Cudappah district. There are many other facts which prove that Trilocana was not a mythical personage but an actual king who ruled over tracts of the Telugu country. A Telugu-Cōḍa inscription (No. 580 of 1907) mentions the grant of the village of Peruganḍūra to 52 Brāhmanās by Mukkanṭi Kāduveṭṭi (i.e., Trilōcana Pallava). This king also founded 70 agrahāras to the east of Śrī Parvata.[52]

Karikāl and Kāñcī:

Besides confining the Kāviri within bunds, Karikāl according to the Telugu Cōḍa records, ruled at Kāñcī.[53] The Tiruvālaṅgādu plates mention that he renovated Kāñcī with gold.[54] This probably means that he covered the dome of the temple of that place with plates of gold. This temple was probably one of the earliest temples to Āgama gods built in South India. The

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[51] Ep. Ind. xi. p. 340, Ib. x. p. 58.

[52] Mad. Ep. Rep. 1908, p. 82-83.

[53] Mad. Ep. Rep. 1900, p. 17.

[54] Kāñcīm yasca navīcakāra kanakaiḥ. V. 42. S. I. I. Vol. III. pt. iii. p. 395.

earliest temple for which a donation is registered in South Indian inscriptions is that dedicated to Bhagavān Nārāyana of the Kūḷi Mahātāraka Devakula (temple) at Dālūra.[55] This inscription probably belongs to the end of the III century A. D. Apparently the Āryanization of the Kāñcīpura district was so complete in that early Pāllava period that several temples had been erected in it to Viṣṇu and probably also to Śiva. There is no means of deciding whether the temple which Karikāl renovated was a Viṣṇu or Siva one.

So far with regard to the life and achievements of Karikāl Śōḻan as testified to by contemporary poets and by traditions which came down from his time and were recorded later in a series of inscriptions. Now for the accounts of later poets. Paraṇar who belonged to an age later than Karikāl's in an ode included in the collection called Agam describes the earliest battle fought by the king, that of Veṇṇi, and says :—" Kings, along with eleven petty chiefs fell and their war-drums were destroyed in the battle-field of Veṇṇi where intoxicated soldiers roared and excellent kings fought with Karikāl, the famous, whose strength was inspired by burning anger."[56] The presence and defeat of eleven petty chiefs in the battle of Veṇṇi, besides the two kings, is perhaps a genuine bit of tradition, though not

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55 Ep. Ind. viii p. 143 ff.

56 காய்சின மொய்ம்பிற் பெரும்பெயர்க் கரிகா
லார்கலி நறவின் வெண்ணி வாயிற்
சீர்கெழு மன்னர் மறலிய ஞாட்பி
னிழியிசை முரசம் பொருகளத் தொழியப்
பதினொரு வேளிரொடு வேந்தர் சாய.

Agam. 246. ll. 8-12.

mentioned by the previous poets who were the contemporaries of Karikāl Śōḻan. So, too, is the account of the defeat of nine petty chiefs in the course of one day in the battle of Vāgai (perhaps in the Śēra dominions), one of the petty incidents in the course of Karikāl's subjugation of the Tamil country. This is described by Paranar, who refers to "the famous kings who would not walk before the great Śōḻa monarch, Karikāl, and the nine (wielders of) umbrellas, who were destroyed in the course of one day (in a battle) which shook the battle-field of the Vāgai, which cannot be worn."[57] Vāgai is a flower and a place; hence the pun in 'Vāgai which cannot be worn', so described as to distinguish it from 'the Vagai flower which can be worn.'

Karikal—myths:

In the course of time many incredible legends gathered round Karikāl's name and came to be recorded in literature. Thus the Śilappadigāram, an epic poem composed some time (we cannot say how long) after Karikāl's death and the repository of many legends describes, among the spots where sacrifices were offered to the gods at Kaviripp̄ūmbaṭṭinam in the course of a procession connected with the Indra festival, the places where were kept a triumphal canopy, an assembly pavilion and an ornamental gateway. As this passage attributes some incredible exploits to Karikāl, it is quoted here. It

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57 பெருவளக் கரிகான் முன்னிலைச் செல்லார்
சூடா வாகைப் பறந்தலை யாடுபெற
வொன்பது குடையு நன்பக லொழித்த
பீடின் மன்னர்.

Ib. 125 ll. 18-21.

says, "Having no more enemies to contend with in the wide world,[58] but desirous of warfare, the great Śōḻan[59] left (his capital) on an auspicious day with sword, royal umbrella, and drum covered with a fleecy skin; hoping that his strong arm might meet a worthy foe in the holy direction, he proceeded north. Then (in that past time) his constant and earnest desire was frustrated by the fruitful Himalayas where the Gods reside; so on its top (lit. on the nape of its peak) he carved the figure of the tiger with the bent stripes (i. e., his royal crest). On his return with his desire unaccomplished the king of the fair Vaccira country, hedged in by a large (body of) water, gave him as tribute a triumphant canopy (of pearls, as the commentators add). The King

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[58] For 'in the wide world,' the text has இரு நிலமருங்கின், which the commentator explains as 'in the two directions', of the Śōḻa country, i. e., in the Śēra and Pāṇḍya countries, a rather forced interpretation.

[59] Karikāl is not named in this passage, but which refers to திருமா வளவன், 'the blessed, great Śōḻa monarch.' As Karikāl is given this very title in Paṭ l. 299, the phrase here may be taken to mean Karikāl. The colophon to Puṟam 58, says that that poem was sung by Kārikkaṇṇanār of Kāvirippūmbaṭṭinam when Perundiru māvaḷavan who died at Kurāppaḷḷi and Peruvaḻudi who died at Veḷḷiyambalam sat near each other. There is nothing in the poem itself to show who was the great Śōḻān and who the great Pāṇḍyan. As the places where they died are mentioned as distinctive marks, probably they were later persons than Karikāl. Kanakasabhai assumes the Śōḻan to be Karikāl, without any evidence to support the identification. (Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago. p. 68.)

of Magada, armed with a sword, opposed him and finally gave him an assembly-pavilion. The Lord of Avanti gladly presented him with a beautiful ornamental gateway. Though these were made of gold and gems they were such as the cleverest artizans had never seen. They were the handiwork of Mayan (the divine artificer) given to them as a return for the help which their ancestors had given him when he was in trouble. To them (i.e. these three places) were jointly given offerings by the great ones."[60]

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[60] இருநில மருங்கிற் பொருநரைப் பெறாஅச்
செருவெங் காதலிற் றிருமா வளவன்
வாளுங் குடையு மயிர்க்கண் முரசு
நாளொடு பெய்து நண்ணார்ப் பெறுகவிம்
மண்ணக மருங்கினன் வலிகெழு தோளெனப்
புண்ணியத் திசைமுகம் போகிய வந்நா
ளசைவி லூக்கத்து நசைபிறக் கொழியப்
பகைவிலக் கியதிப் பயங்கெழு மலையென
விமையவ ருறையுஞ் சிமையப் பிடர்த்தலைக்
கொடுவரி யேற்றிக் கொள்கையிற் பெயர்வோற்கு
மாநீர் வேலி வச்சிர நன்னாட்டுக்
கோனிறை கொடுத்த கொற்றப் பந்தரு
மகத நன்னாட்டு வாள்வாய் வேந்தன்
பகைபுறத்துக் கொடுத்த பட்டிமண் டபமு
மவந்தி வேந்த னுவந்தனன் கொடுத்த
நிவந்தோங்கு மரபிற் றோரண வாயிலும்
பொன்னினு மணியினும் புனைந்தன வாயினு
நுண்வினைக் கம்மியர் காணா மரபின
துயர்நீங்கு சிறப்பினவர் தொல்லோ ருதவிக்கு
மயன் விதித்துக் கொடுத்த மரபின விவைதா
மொருங்குடன் புணர்ந்தாங் குயர்ந்தோ ரேத்து
மரும்பெறன் மரபின் மண பம்.

Śil. v. ll. 89-110.

The mention of Mayan, the divine architect, of Sanskrit legends, stamps this poem as later than Karikāl's time: likewise the phrase அந்நாள்.

Giving its face value to the testimony of this passage every person, ancient or modern, who has written about Karikāl, has claimed for this king the credit of subjugating all the kings of India, marching with his army straight to the top of the Himalayas, stamping his crest thereon and on the return march receiving tributes, after hostilities or otherwise, from three great Northern monarchs. A Napoleonic march from the extreme south of India to the top of the Himalayas is an inconceivably difficult feat in any period of Indian History. Moreover the contemporary eulogist of Karikāl, Uruttiraṅgaṉṉaṉār, who according to a late legend was paid for his poem 16 lakhs of gold pieces[61] and who had every reason to exaggerate his master's exploits, does not mention it and does not mention any conquest of Karikāl beyond Rēnāḍu. The Telugu inscriptions which systematically mention all Karikāl's achievements do not allude to it. I therefore hold that the statements of the author of Śilappadigāram are inventions of the period when Śōḻa Kings were furnished with genealogies going up to the Sun and were provided with exploits which brought them into contact with Northern heroes, supernatural and natural, and with gifts made by gods, It is not impossible that Karikāl got the three articles as presents from somebody or other, but that he marched up to the Himalayas is clearly a late legend.

Other legends about this king found in later Tamil poems, such as that an elephant sought him out and

[61] Kaliṅgattuppaṛaṇi, st. 185.

gave him the royal garland, that he was called, 'the black leg,' because it was singed when he attempted to escape from a fire, are scarcely worth discussion. The Ceylonese chornicles of recent times have contributed their quota of Karikāl legends. One of them, viz., that he carried away from Ceylon a number of slaves and made them work on the Kāviri embankments has already been referred to. These legends are conveniently brought together by Donald Obeyesekere in his Sketches of Ceylon's History and may be quoted here. "During the reign of Wankanasikatissa (113-116 A. D.) the King of Tanjore (sic) invaded Ceylon with a large army, ravaged the northwestern portion of the Island, penetrated to within sight of Anurādhapura and retired with an immense quantity of plunder, and not less than 12,000 prisoners. Gaja Bāhu, son of Wankanasika, soon after his accession to his father's throne, avenged the insult that had been offered to the Sinhalese people. He is said to have marched over Adam's bridge with a large force under the command of Nēla-Yodhaya, devasted the country and threatened to raze the city of Tanjore to the ground, unless the King of Tanjore consented to return the 12,000 Sinhalese and, in addition, double that number of Tamils to be taken to Laṅka as hostages. The request was complied with and Gaja Bāhu returned to Ceylon bringing with him besides the hostages and the Sinhalese that had been carried away,......the foot-ornaments of Patiny Devi and the arms of four gods which Gaja Bāhu's forces had plundered."[62] That this is a late and untrustworthy legend is proved by the fact that the Mahawamso does not at all refer to it and that the Śōḻa is called the ruler of Tanjore. Tanjore became

[6] Ib. p. 26.

the headquarters of the Śōḻas about 850 A.D., after which date the legend ought to have been invented.

Another point may also be noted here. A Sōḻa king (not named) is frequently referred to in the Śilappadigāram. The annotator Aḍiyārkkunallār who lived not over 500 years ago assumes without the least shadow of proof this Śōḻan was Karikāl. But there is nothing in the text of the poem which compels us to think that the poet had this king in view when he speaks of the Śōḻan who ruled at Kāvirippūmbaṭṭinam when the events of the Śilappadigāram took place. On the contrary, in the two passages where Karikāl is distinctly referred to, his achievements are referred to in the past tense. One of the passages has already been quoted, that about the legendary exploit of his marching to the Himalayas and back. The other occurs in the description of the flood festival, where it is said that "people put on various dresses as on the first day when Karikāl whose fame extended to the sky bathed in the cold freshes."[63] This means that Karikāl started the festival of bathing in the first freshes sometime before the epic was composed.

Modern writers who have studied this subject have confused the text with the commentaries and assumed that the statements of the author and those of the commentator who was about a thousand years later than the poet, have the same value as evidence. Much of what has been recently written about the early history of the three Tamil dynasties is but a jumble of contemporary

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[63] விண்பொரு பெரும்புகழ்க் கரிகால் வளவன்
றண்பதங்கொள்ளுந் தலைநாட்போல.

Śil. vi. ll. 159-160.

evidence and guesses of commentators and of modern writers, made with a supreme disregard of the laws of historical evidence.

The age of Karikāl: False theories of the relationship of Karikāl and Śeṅguṭṭuvan:

There now remains the question, at what period Kariāl flourished. Some modern investigators have assigned him to the II century of the Christian era. Śeṣagiri Śāstrī, Professor of Sanskrit in the early eighties of the last century, first suggested this date in his essay on Tamil literature (1884 A. D.). Like all the earlier investigators he did not differentiate between the evidential value of the texts of poems and that of the interpretations made a thousand years later by commentators and regarded Karikāl as the contemporary of Śeṅguṭṭūvan, a Śēra King, who is the hero of the III book of Śilappadigāram. As has been already remarked the text itself regards Karikāl as belonging to an age earlier than that of the story. In defiance of this, the commentator regards Karikāl as reigning when the story began. To return to Śeṣagiri Śāstrī's theory, Kayavāgu (in Pali Gajabāhu) was a contemporary of Śeṅgūṭṭūvan and therefore of Karikāl. Śeshagiri Śāstrī first identified a Kayavāgu mentioned in Śil. xxx. l. 160 with Gajabahu I of the Ceylon chronicles to whom these chronicles assign the date 113 A. D.-135 A. D.[64]

Coomāraswāmy accepted this suggestion and "in one of his interesting contributions to the history of ancient Tamil literature[65] the Honourable P. Coomāra-

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[64] Essay on Tamil literature 1884 p. 30.

[65] A half-hour with two Ancient Tamil poets. J. R. A. S. Ceylon Branch. 1894 (Hultsch in S. I. I. II. iii. p. 378.

swāmy allots Kārikāla to the first century A.D. This opinion is based on the fact that the commentaries on the Śilappadigāram represent Karikāl as the maternal grandfather of the Cēra King Śeṅgūṭṭūvan, a contemporary of Gajabāhu of Ceylon. Mr. Coomāraswāmy identifies the latter with Gajabāhu I, who according to the Mahāvamsa, reigned from A.D. 113 to 135."[66] On this it has to be remarked that the commentaries on the Śilappadigāram do not represent Karikāl as the maternal grandfather of Śeṅgūṭṭūvan. In the preface to Adiyārkkunallār's commentaries on the Padigam, a prologue to the poem giving a summary of the story, not necessarily composed by the author, it is said that Śeṅgūṭṭūvan was the son of Naṛcōṇai, daughter of the Sōḻan who possessed a big chariot (drawn by the) seven horses of the sun who shines bright. Surely this does not mean that Śeṅguṭṭūvan was Karikāl's grandson. In a prose passage printed at the beginning of the XXIX canto occurs the phrase, 'the son born to the daughter of the Sōḻan who belonged to the brightly shining sun, i.e., to the solar dynasty, and no more.

So far as I have searched, no poem, old or new, no commentary on any old poem, speaks of any relationship between Karikāl and Śeṅguṭṭuvan. Hence the latter's being a grandson of Karikāl, (or for the matter of that, any relation of the Sōḻa monarch) is a modern Karikāl myth. I do not know who invented it. Kanakasabhai says categorically, "Karikāl's daughter was married to the chēra king Athan II and became the mother of Chenkudduva chēra."[67] He refers to

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[66] S. I. I. II. iii. p. 373.

[67] Tam. 1800 years Ago, p. 72.

Śilappadigāram, xxx. ll. 173-183 as his authority. The passage merely says that Iḷaṅgovaḍigal, the author of Śilappadigāram, repeated a message given by a spirit in these words. "(A reader of the future) said, you who sit under the shadow of the feet of your father, there are indications that you will ascend the throne [and not your elder brother, Ś ṅguṭṭuvan,]. You, then, cast angry looks (at the soothsayer), and, to remove the distress of Śeṅguṭṭuvan who possessed a brigade of beflagged chariots, (adorned) with garlands emitting sweet smell, presented yourself before the ascetics on the sunny (eastern) side (of the town), gave up the burden of the broad earth and became the lord of the limitless pleasure, as high as the heaven, which cannot be measured by the mind."[68] It is impossible to imagine

6 நுந்தை தாணிழ லிருந்தோய் நின்னை
யரசு வீற்றிருக்குந் திருப்பொறி யுண்டென்
றுரைசெய் தவன்மே லுருத்து நோக்கிக்
கொங்கவிழ் நறுந்தார்க் கொடித்தேர்த் தானைச்
செங்குட் டுவன்றன் செல்ல னீங்கப்
பகல்செல் வாயிற் படியோர் தம்மு
னகலிடப் பாரம மகல நீக்கிச்
சிந்தை செல்லாச் சேணெடுந் தூரத்
தந்தமி லின்பத் தரசாள் வேந்து.

xxx. ll. 174-182.

how Kanakasabhai got out of this passage the name of Naṛcoṇai and her relationship to Karikāl, on which is based the theory of the early date of the latter, to which Tamil literary circles are so devoutly attached.

At least one century, if not more, must have elapsed between the poems composed by the poets who were Karikāl's contemporaries and the Śilappadigāram.

In the former, Sanskrit words are rare and in the latter very common. In the former there are very few references to Aryan ideas, and even these indicate that Aryan culture had not penetrated the life of the people. In the Śilappadigāram, on the contrary, the life described is through and through permeated by Aryan concepts and Aryan religious ideas. The music, the drama, the dancing, and the legends frequently alluded to, are all Aryan. So that any man with the least training in the methods of literary criticism cannot fail to notice that the epic belongs to an age when the Tamil imagination had been thoroughly saturated with Aryan culture, but the contemporary poems about Karikāl belong to an age previous to the Aryanization of Tamil India.

The Age of Karikāl : The Gajabāhu Synchronism :

Moreover the contemporaneity of Gajabāhu with Śeṅguṭṭuvan rests on very flimsy grounds. With regard to the identification of Kayavāgu of the Śilappadigāram with Gajabāhu I of Mahāvamso, Hultsch has remarked "with due respect to Mr. Coomāraswāmy's sagacity, I am not prepared to accept this view, unless the identity of the two Gajabāhus is not only supported by the mere identity of the name, but proved by internal reasons and until the chronology of the earlier history of Ceylon has been subjected to a critical examination."[69] Kanakasabhai did not attempt to meet Hultsch's criticism. S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar, accepting Śēṣagiri Śāstrī's and Coomāraswāmi's theory, took up this challenge of Hultsch's and attempted to prove the identity of the two Gajabāhus by means of the internal reasons required by Hultsch. He says, "a careful

[69] S. I. I. III. iii. p. 378.

examination of the first book of the Epic of the Anklet shows that during the early part of the life of the hero, the King of Puhār (i.e., Kāvirippūmbaṭṭinam) was Karikāla chōla. Apart from the fact that the commentator invariably interprets all references to the ruling King as applying to Karikāla (and this itself is much, as the commentator was one thoroughly qualified for the task and can, as such, be expected to embody nothing but correct tradition in his commentaries), there are a number of direct references to him, either by name or by the fact that the erection of the tiger-emblem on the Himalayas was attributed to him."[70] I have pointed out already that the commentator wrote about a thousand years after the author; his guesses cannot be called tradition, for tradition means a story handed down from generation to generation and there is no evidence to show that the commentator's explanation was not invented by him, but was handed down in an unbroken line by generations of previous commentators. The commentator was no doubt a good Tamil scholar and qualified for the task of explaining difficult passages but this cannot constitute him an authority about questions of fact belonging to a thousand years before his time, as is implied by the clause in parentheses in the above quotation. Krishnaswami Iyengar mentions all the direct references to Karikāl in the epic in the following passages. (1) "The last four lines of Canto I blesses the ruler who erected the tiger-emblem on the crest of the Himalayas." This is not correct. For one thing it may be pointed out that the poet does not say that Karikāl "erected" an emblem (in stone, brick, wood or steel). The word used is poṟittu, incised or

[70] Ancient India p. 350.

carved. Again the last four lines of canto I[71] say "may the Śembiyan (i. e,, Śōḷa king) who possesses the cruel spear that has been used in many battles so wield his sole discus in all directions, that the splendid tiger placed on this side of the Himalayas extend its power to the other side of the golden peak." That is, may the reigning Śōḷan extend beyond the Himalayas the power which Karikāl extended to the Himalayas. If any thing this passage makes Karikāl a king who lived before the events of Śilappadigāram took place. (2). "There is direct mention of Karikālan's name and of his rewarding the poet of Pālai (Paṭṭinappālai) in one of the manuscripts consulted by the editor." The mention of the king's name in certain lines found in the Mss. of the text of, or notes on, Śilappadigāram and not recognized as genuine by the other commentator or the editor can by no means prove that the king was a contemporary of the events of the poem. (3). "Further down lines 158—60 of canto VI mention as clearly as one could wish Karikāla as ruling at the time." These lines prove just the opposite ; they have been already quoted and imply that certain occurrences in the festival described in the poem resembled the celebration by Karikāl, in former days, of the flood festival.

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[71] இப்பா லிமயத் திருத்திய வாள்வேங்கை
யுப்பாலைப் பொற்கோட் டுழையதா வெப்பாலுஞ்
செருமிகு சினவேற் செம்பிய
னொருதனி யாழி யுருட்டுவோ னெனவே.

Śil. i. lb. 65—68.

It is well known that the real or imaginary deeds of a king are attributed to all his descendants. Thus if a king performs the Aśvamedha, the same is

(4). "The commentator explains it as such by giving the passage the necessary expansion." This is what the commentator says. "As in the first day of the festival of the freshes, when this Karikāl whose fame has reached the sky celebrated it, so at the end of this festival, too, the places where the celebration took place shone brilliantly."[72] Instead of saying that Karikāl reigned at that time this means that Karikāl's flood-festival was antecedent to the bathing festival described in the poem. (5). "Not to mention the allusive but undoubted reference to the same personage in lines 95-8 of canto V." I have quoted and translated this passage also; it merely mentions that sacrifices were made in the course of the procession of the Indra festival to certain objects which were acquired by Karikāl in a former time and proves that the acquistion of these objects was before the events of the poem took place.[73] (6) "Of these three kings praised in canto XVII there is reference to Karikālan's

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attributed to his sucessors. If a man performs the Somayāgam, all his descendants ever after are Somayājīs, even though they live the life of vrātyas.

[72] விண்ணிலே சென்று பொரும் பெரிய புகழை யுடைய இக்கரிகால் வளவன் புதுப்புனல் விழவு கொண் டாடும் தலைநாட்போலவே இவ்விழவி னிறுதிக்கட் புனலாடி டங்களும் வீறுபெறத் தோன்று நிற்க.

Śil. 2nd ed. p. 201.

[73] The actual phrase used by the poet புண்ணிய திசைமுகம் போகிய வந்நாள், on that (distant) day when (Karikāl) went towards the holy (northern) direction', suggests that he was a king who lived long before the events of the poem.

Himalayan exploit in the last stanza in page 400, and this is the last chola ruler referred to." The passage here referred to does not give a list of Śōḻa kings, with Karikāl as the "last" of the series but is merely the second of a set of three stanzas called Uḷvarivāḻttu; in these stanzas the Pāṇḍiyan who wore the garlands of Indra (a mythical personage), the Śōḻan who engraved the tiger on the golden peaked Himalayas, and the Śēran who cut the Kaḍambu tree planted in the middle of the ocean, are each praised as being identical with the God Kṛṣṇa. How this piece of exaggerated praise of typical kings, who lived before the time of Śeṅguṭṭuvan can make them his contemporaries it is impossible to see. (7) "Canto XXI line 11 clearly state that Karikāla's daughter had married the then Śēra king." As the name of this Śēra son-in-law of Karikāl was Āṭṭan Atti and as Seṅguṭṭuvan's immediate ancestors were his father Śēral Ādan and his grandfather Udiyañjēral, Āṭṭan Atti must have reigned if at all long before Śeṅguṭṭuvan. In fact in this passage Karikāl's is conceived as a long past age; for therein Kaṇṇagi enumerates six great ladies who were born before her time in her native city of Kāvirippūmbaṭṭinam and who were famous for devotion to their husbands and mentions Ādi Mandi, the daughter of Karikāl and wife of Āṭṭan Ātti as the second of the series of great ladies. Thus all the passages of Śilappadigāram which name or allude to Karikāl prove that his age preceded (we cannot say by how many years) the time when the events of the story began and hence Karikāl's date cannot be deduced from Śeṅguṭṭuvan's.

Nor can Śeṅguṭṭuvan's date be fixed by the so called Gajabāhu synchronism. Hultsch's objection 'that

the identification is worthless unless supported by internal reasons' has not yet been met. Further Gajabāhu is represented in the Mahāwamso, the work nearest to him in point of time, as an enthusiatic Bauddha. In that work his activities in building Buddhist monasteries are described and not only is there no reference to his introduction of the Pattini cult from India, but the whole tenor of the account of Gajabāhu's life would lead one to the conclusion that he was too enthusiastic a Bauddha to care for any other cult. Moreover the late Ceylonese legends which refer to Gajabāhu's conquest of the Śōḷa country assume that the Pattini cult was antecedent to his time, for he is said to have carried away from Tanjore Pattini's foot-ornaments, thereby implying that Pattini was worshipped as a goddess before his time. In the Śilappadigāram[73] it is said that among others such as the King of Mālva, Kayavāgu, king of Laṅka, surrounded by the sea, attended the sacrifice performed by Śeṅguṭṭuvan in honour of Kaṇṇagi's visible elevation to the godhead. The Urai peṛu kaṭṭurai, a prose prologue to the Epic, partially contradicts the above statement and says, "Kayavāgu *heard* of the marvellous story of Kaṇṇagi and . . . frequently celebrated the festival" of Kaṇṇagi.[73] This prologue also says that Peruṅgiḷḷi the Śōḷan built a temple to the chaste goddess (Pattini Dēvi) at Uṛaiyūr, but the Epic does not refer to this. The

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73 மாளுவ வேந்தருங்
கடல்சூ ழிலங்கைக் கயவாகு வேந்தனும்
மெந்நாட் டாங்க ணிமைய வரம்பனி
னன்னாட் செய்த நாளணி வேள்வியில்.

Ib. xxx. ll. 159—162.

73 அது கேட்டுக் கடல் சூழிலங்கைக் கயவாகு
...... பாடி விழாக்கோள் பன்முறை யெடுத்து.

Ceylon Chronicles, as already remarked, imply that Pattini Dēvi's temple existed at Tanjore before the time of Gajabāhu. Thus the tales about the inception of the Pattini cult contradict each other so much that they cannot bear critical examination.

There is another difficulty in concluding from the Śilappadigāram that Śenguṭṭuvan and Gajabāhu were contemporaries. There is an alternative reading to the word Kayavāgu in the passage of the Śilappadigāram on which all this contention about the "Gajabāhu synchronism" is based. That reading is kāval instead of Kayavāgu. There is no means of deciding which is the correct reading. If kāvạl is the correct reading, down falls to the ground all the edifice of the theories based on the Gajabāhu synchronism. Any one who has seen Tamil ōlai mss. moth-eaten and brittle, and who remembers that this poem has been from generation to generation either copied from previous mss. or written down from memory, will think twice before attaching so tremendous importance to a doubtful reading as to make it the sole foundation for South Indian chronology.

Other objections to the early date :

The ascription of the I or II century A. D. to Karikāl| is objectionable on other grounds too. Neither the Periplus nor Ptolemy mentions Karikāl though they refer to monarchs much less celebrated than this great Śōḷa Emperor. On the contrary, Ptolemy's geography of Tamil India in the II century A. D. gives us the picture of a land ruled by several petty monarchs and not one that had been brought under the sole discus of a great monarch as the Tamil poems describe Karikāl to be. Moreover the disputation of logicians who flew their flags of challenge in front of their tents, referred to in

Paṭṭinappālai, certainly belongs to an age when dialectics had developed, and this certainly did not take place even in North India before the III century A. D.

Probable Age of Karikāl:

Epigraphical evidence points to the end of the IV century as the period when Karikāl flourished. He wrested Kāñcī from the Pallavas and renovated it with gold. The Pallava rule of Kāñcī was at its maximum strength in the II century and possibly earlier; it continued up to 350 A. D. when Samudragupt's Praśasti mentions that Viṣṇugōpa (a Pallava not a Tamil name) was lord of Kāñcī. About this time the Pallava power was weakened by the revolt of Mayūraśarmā, the founder of the Kadamba dynasty of Banavāse. It is therefore probable that Karikāl at about the end of the IV century defeated Trinayana Pallava and drove him out of the Kāñcī district to seek dominion, possibly as a vassal of Karikāl, in the neighbouring Telugu province. This is the only possible explanation of the numerous references to Trinayana Pallava in the Telugu inscriptions and Telugu literature. Another synchronism confirms this conclusion. Eastern Cālukya inscriptions contain a tradition that the remote founder of their line was one Vijayāditya, an adventurer from Ayodhyā who was killed in battle by Trilocana (or Trinayana Pallava), the ruler of Dakṣiṇapātha. This Vijayāditya was removed by five generations from Pulakēsī II, who became king of Bādāmi in the beginning of the VII century. Karikāl, Trilocana and Vijayāditya were thus almost contemporaries. Hence the most probable period when Karikāl flourished was the end of the IV and beginning of the V century, the central year of his reg being 400 A. D.

APPENDIX.

Was Karikāl a contemporary of Trilocana Pallava ?

(This note has been furnished by K. R. Subramania Iyer, Guṇṭūr Fellow of the Āndhra University).

There are strong and persistent traditions that there was a king named Trilocana Pallava in ancient times in the Telugu country. He is also called Trinayana Pallava, Mukkaṇṭi Pallava and Mukkaṇṭi Kāḍuveṭṭi[2] which names are all synonymous. Apart from the well-known Mackenzie manuscripts[3], very late records which speak of this early king, there are inscriptions and literary references[4] of about the tenth and eleventh centuries, which leave us in no doubt as to the historicity of this little known but well-worth knowing sovereign.

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[1] M. E. R. 1908, p. 82. Also 109-10, 153, 244, and 251 of 1893 and 293 of 1892.

[2] Nellore Inscriptions, D 69, K. G. 24., and also 150 of 1899 and 837 of 1922.

[3] Wilson, Catalogue of Mss. Introd. pp. lvii-ixii, ci. cxix. and also Taylor. Cat. of mss. III. 486. Nellore Ma nual,436, 687, see also Foulkes : Pallavas.

[4] Kaliṅgattupparaṇi. See Chr. Coll. May April, and July 1927 for the literary references in the articles by Venkataramanayya. Also T. G. Ārāvamudan's Kāviri and the Sangam Age.

Trilōcana is associated mainly with the present Guṇṭūr, Kṛṣṇā and Nellore Districts, but authorities[5] are not wanting which make him ruler of the whole of the Deccan before the advent of the Cālukyas into power. The Velanāṇḍu[6] and Koṇḍapadmati[7] dynasties express in their inscriptions their gratitude to Trilocana for having favoured their founders with fiefs. The inscriptions of the Telugu Coḍas very rarely begin without a praise of their great ancestor Karikāla of the Kāveri bank fame. Likewise, those of the Telugu Pallavas[8] never fail to mention their illutrious founder Trilocana as "the clearer of the forests" and the giver to Brahmans. Not many of the Telugu Cōḍa inscriptions omit to record the victory won by the Cola emperor over the Three-eyed Pallava. When a score of inscriptions, despite their late age, mention "an ancient king with an extra eye" we cannot easily brush them aside entirely as valueless.

The lasting service Trilōcana seems to have rendered was the gifts of lands to Brāhmaṇas whom he brought from Ahicchatra in Pāñcāla and settled east of Śrī Parvata.[9] One inscription[10] speaks of the gift of seven villages in Guṇṭūr District, while another refers to

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[5] Ep. Ind. VI. 147, 155.

[6] Ib. IV. 34, 48.

[7] M. E. R. 1 16, p. 136. Also 146 of 1897 and 251 of 1893. Also Ep. Ind. III. 95.

[8] M. E. R. 1916, 138, Ś 1157.

[9] 247 of 1897, Ś. 1092. Also 109-110 of 1893, Ś. 1057 and 779/1922.

[10] 261 of 1897.

seventy on the whole.[11] A ruler of the thirteenth century confirms the gift of Trilocana Pallava in Bāpatla Tāluk,[12] probably after satisfying himself about the truth of the ancient grant by means of written evidence or oral enquiry. So large and well known were his charities that his name was handed down by a grateful people to posterity.

When did Trilocana Pallava live?[13] The Raṇastapūṇḍi grant of Vimalāditya,[14] the Pāmulavāka plates of Vijayāditya VII[15] and the Cellūr plates of Vīracōḍa make him a contemporary of Viyayāditya the first Cāḷukya King. Trilocana, king of the Deccan, defeated and killed the Cālukya invader. The queen of the latter who was pregnant at the time took refuge with Viṣṇubhaṭṭa Sōmayājī of Muḍivēmu (Peddamuḍiyam). Sometime after, a son was born to her and named Viṣṇuvardhana. When he came of age he established his power where his father had failed. This story gives us the clue to the age of Trilocana Pallava. There is a Kanarese inscription[16] in Peddamuḍiyam (Jammalamaḍugu Tāluk), called Trilocanapura in another inscription,[17] which calls that village the birthplace of

[11] M. E. R. 1908, pp. 82-84. Also 580/1907, which curiously enough assigns a second Trilocana to Ś. 723.

[12] 803 of 1922, Ś. 1131.

[13] See Ep. Ind. X p. 340 for Kṛṣṇa Sāstrī's opinion.

[14] Ś. 933, Ep. Ind. VI. p. 351, III, p. 95. See also M. E. R. 1916 p. 136 and 1915, p. 393. Also Ep. Ind. IV. p. 239.

[15] Āndhra Hist. Jour. Rajahmundry, III. p. 278.

[16] Ś. 1046. See M. A. R. 1904-5, pp. 32-42.

[17] 350 of 1905.

Viṣṇuvardhana. There is another inscription[18] also of a later date mentioning Veṇṇubhaṭṭa (Viṣṇubhaṭṭa) as a receiver of lands from Trilocana Pallava, apparently the Somayājī who gave shelter to the Cāḷukya queen.

The expedition of Vijayāditya and his war with Trilocana are also dealt with in a Kōṇa inscription[19] of Ś. 1117. If there is any truth in the story, Trilocana must have lived early in the fifth century A. D. as Vijayāditya was removed by about five generations from Viṣṇuvardhana the first Eastern Cāḷukya.[20] In 175 of 1899 one Rudrabhaṭṭa Ahicchatra is said to have been benefited with lands by Trilocana. In the family of the donee were born Sūrya and Kuppana who were similarly benefited by Satyāśraya and Viṣṇu Vardhana, the two great royal brothers. But as the number of generations between Rudra and Sūrya is not given we are in the dark as to the exact age of Trilocana though it is certain from the above reference that he lived anterior to Pulakēśī II. In the Piṭhāpuram stone inscriptions of Prithvēśvara of Velanāṇḍu, Ś 1108,[21] the founder, Malla I, removed from the former by eighteen kings or thirteen generations is said to have made friends with Trinetra. But even this does not help us any further.

In the Telugu Cōḍa inscriptions, Trilocana Pallava is represented as a contemporary of Karikāla Cōḷa.[22]

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18 S. I. I. IV. p. 927.

19 Ep. Ind. IV. p. 94, 239.

20 Ib. XI. p. 337.

21 Ib. IV. p. 34, 48.

22 4469 of 1919, Ś. 1153. M. E. R. 1920, pp. 111-117.

All their numerous inscriptions mention their great ancestor. Some of them give him a northern origin as indeed the later Cōḷa genealogies of the south do, by tracing him to the Solar family of Ayodhyā, a branch of which the Iksvākus, are known to have to cut inscriptions in Guntūr District. They alo associate him with Kāñcī, the capital of the Pallavas. But no connected genealogy can be worked out from these inscriptions which leave wide gaps in the lists. One notable event contained in some of the inscriptions is the encounter of Karikāla with Trilōcana. This is duly chronicled in Telugu and Tamil literatures of the same late period. One of the Mackenzie Mss. draws pointed attention to it. Out of all this mass of materials the synchronism of Karikāla and Trilocana may be taken as a widely popular belief in the eleventh century A. D. Trilocana is represented in the stories of the later inscriptions and literatures as a feudatory of the Cōḷa, who refused to help the latter in embanking the Kāviri. Probably having lost his independence but recently at the hands of his great Cōḷa contemporary, he was too proud to respond to the order of his overlord, or his contumaciousness may be explained by the distance by which he was separated from the Cōḷa capital in the south. Anyway, the accounts agree that Karikāla did not spare him and he soon brought his vassal to his knees. In figurative and poetic language the superfluous eye of Trilocana was plucked out by Karikāla.

We may believe in the subtratum underlying these stories and thus establish the contemporaneity of Trilocana, Vijayāditya and Karikāla.

CHAPTER XXI.

ILANDIRAIYAN.

On the way to his Capital:

Kaḍiyalūr Uruttiraṅgaṇṇanār, the poet who sang the glories of Karikāl in the poem called Paṭṭinappālai has also sung a ruler of Kāñcīpuram, by name Toṇḍaimān Iḷandiraiyan, in another of the ten songs, Perumbāṇāṛṛuppaḍai. The title of the poem means 'the bigger guide to poets' and it calls upon poets seeking rewards to go to Iḷandiraiyan, the great patron of bards. As in Paṭṭinappālai, in this poem too, the author gives elaborate and extremely interesting descriptions of the life of the common people in the different natural regions belonging to the territory under the rule of his patron. After taking his reader through the several districts belonging to Iḷandiraiyan, the poet shows him a Brāhmaṇa village not very distant from Kāñcī. "The houses had in front of them a shed with short legs to which were tied fat calves; the houses were washed with cowdung and had idols (inside them). Domestic fowl and dogs did not approach them. It was the village of the guardians of the Veda who teach its sounds to the parrots with the bent mouth. If you (bard), reach (the place), fair faced bangled ladies who are as chaste as (Arundhatī) the little star which shines in the north of the bright, broad sky, will after sunset feed you on the well-cooked rice named after the bird (explained by the commentator as the rice called irāśānnam) along with slices of citron boiled in butter taken,

from the buttermilk derived from red cows and scented with the leaves of the karuvēmbu, and mixed with pepper-powder, and the sweet-smelling tender fruit plucked from the tall mango tree and pickled[1]." This is, so far as I know, the earliest description of a Brāhmaṇa village in the Tamil land.

Beyond this village lay Nīrppeyaṟṟu; this word means 'the place named after water' and most probably refers to Kaḍalmallai which came later to be called Māmallapuram and was the chief port of the kings of Kāñcī. In this place too, Brāhmaṇas flourished; for it is said, "crowds of girls played with each other while they bathed; and one of them lost her ear-ornament shaped like a crocodile. A kingfisher, coloured like a sapphire, seeking for prey took the jewel in its bill, and instead of going to the leaf of the palmyra tree filled with birds, sat on the yūpa at which learned Brāhmaṇas had

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[1] செழுங்கன் றியாத்த சிறுதாட் பந்தர்ப்
பைஞ்சேறு மெழுகிய படிவ நன்னகர்
மனையுறை கோழியொடு ஞமலி துன்னாது
வளைவாய்க் கிள்ளை மறைவிளி பயிற்று
மறைகாப் பாள ருறைபதிச் சேப்பிற்
பெருநல் வானத்து வடவயின் விளங்குஞ்
சிறுமீன் புரையுங் கற்பி னறுநுதல்
வளைக்கை மகடூஉ வயினறிந் தட்ட
சுடர்க்கடைப் பறவைப் பெயர்ப்படு வத்தஞ்
சேதா நறுமோர் வெண்ணெயின் மாதுளத்
துருப்புறு பசுங்காய்ப் போழொடு கறிகலந்து
கஞ்சக நறுமுறி யளைஇப் பைந்துணர்
நெடுமரக் கொக்கி னறுவடி விதிர்த்த
தகைமாண் காடியின் வகைபடப் பெறுகுவிர்.

Perumbāṇ, ll. 297-310.

finished their sacrifice; it looked like a swan-lamp on the mast of the boat of the Yavanas and twinkled like Venus which heralds the dawn."[2] This sea-coast town though not quite so large as Kāvirippūmbaṭṭinam was a flourishing centre of commerce. "Its grand shore was surrounded by ships which brought horses, white like milk, with waving manes, from the west, and the products of the north. In the streets covered with sand there were ware-houses guarded by servants; in many streets there were mansions of several kinds, reaching the sky, where merchants resided."[3] It was a prosperous place; for "food was abundant in its houses; the bulls that plough (the fields) so that crops may be raised, the cows that do not approach (the bulls), rams and dogs wander about it. The women wear curved jewels; their fine cloth waves about the

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2 வண்ட லாயமொ டுண்டுறைத் தலைஇப்
புனலொடு மகளி ரிட்ட பொலங்குழை
யிரைதேர் மணிச்சிர லிரைசெத் தெறிந்தெனப்
புள்ளார் பெண்ணைப் புலம்புமடற் செல்லாது
கேள்வி யந்தண ரருங்கட னிறுத்த
வேள்வித் தூணத் தசைஇ யவன
ரோதிம விளக்கி னுயர்மிசைக் கொண்ட
வைகுறு மீனிற் பைபயத் தோன்றும்.

Perumb. ll. 311-318.

3 நீர்ப்பெயற் றெல்லைப் போகிப் பாற்கேழ்
வாலுளைப் புரவியொடு வடவளந் தரூஉ
நாவாய் சூழ்ந்த நளிநீர்ப் படப்பை
மாட மோங்கிய மணன்மலி மறுகிற்
பரதர் மலிந்த பல்வேறு தெருவிற்
சிலதர் காக்குஞ் சேணுயர் வரைப்பின்.

Perumb. ll. 319-324.

forelap round which there is a zone strung with bells, like the dew formed on the thin boughs of the Cassia (Konṛai); they walk like the peacock which cries with joy on the neighbouring hills. They play games with balls made of thread, while their gold anklets tinkle, in houses which are so tall as to reach the sky. They play gently the game of kaḻal, with tiny gold balls made in the shape of the nuts of the Guilandina Bonduce, on sand spread like pearls, while their short bangles are moving (up and down)."[4]

The city of Kāñcī:

After passing through many other villages where ancient Tamil cults like those of Murugan flourished, the traveller reached Kāñcī (or rather its suburb Tiruvehkā) where the god slept on the serpent couch, like an elephant resting on a hill where grows the Gloriosa Superba.[5] This is the earliest reference

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4 நெல்லுழு பகட்டொடு கறவை துன்று
மேழகத் தகரோ டெகினங் கொட்குங்
கூழுடை நல்லிற் கொடும்பூண் மகளிர்
கொன்றை மென்சினைப் பனிதவழ் பவைபோற்
பைங்கா ழல்கு னுண்டுகி னுடங்க
மால்வரைச் சிலம்பின் மகிழ்சிறந் தாலும்
பீலி மஞ்ஞையி னியலிக் கால
தமனியப் பொற்சிலம் பொலிப்ப வுயர்நிலை
வான்றோய் மாடத்து வரிப்பந் தசைஇக்
கைபுனை குறுந்தொடி தத்தப் பைபய
முத்த வார்மணற் பொற்கழங் காடும்.

Perumb. ll. 325-335.

5 நாடுபல கழிந்த பின்றை நீடுகுலைக்
காந்தளஞ் சிலம்பிற் களிறு படிந்தாங்குப்
பாம்பணைப் பள்ளி யமர்ந்தோ னுங்கண்

Ib. ll. 371-373.

in Tamil literature to the worship of Viṣṇu stretched on his serpent couch. When this image of Viṣṇu was first conceived we do not know, but the Anantasāyī sculptures we now have in India do not go beyond the age of the Guptas.

After crossing the groves and streams of Tiruvehkā, one reached the city of Kāñcī, or Kacci, as the name became in Tamil. "In its groves, watching for the time when the men, with stick in hand, are negligent, the pregnant monkey siezes (part of) the rice mixed with ghi, intended for the elephants whose trunks hang down. Its long streets have deep ruts made by the strongly built chariots drawn by elephants whose ferocity had been quelled by being tied to posts of heart-wood. The army which guarded the place consisted of invincible, strong, and celebrated warriors. In its shops the people of the very fully inhabited houses were constantly selling and buying. Its gateway cannot be reached by people who prevent the flow of charity. It is protected by a forest all round. It shines like the seed-vessel of the many-petalled lotus on the navel of the blue-hued, tall god (Viṣṇu) from which was born the four-faced god. The high fortwalls were built of brick. It is the greatest of the cities in the wide world covered by heaven and surrounded by the sea, which smells of meat, like the jack tree which produces the sweetest fruit of all, without putting forth flowers, and to whose strong, thick boughs resort crowds of cooing pigeons. That city is superior to others in its glory and in the fact that many men worship there and hold festivals in it. From the city rose as much uproar as when the five Pāṇḍavas who possessed big chariots with carved tops and invincible might, met and defeated the hundred

(Kauravas), who attacked them with a limitless army, in a battle where on rivers of blood floated down the black corpses of white-tusked elephants, which looked like the clouds roving on the red evening sky where the fair-faced crescent shines, and uttered shouts of victory. There resided (Iḷandiraiyan), the generous lord who was the greatest patron of the bards who sought his help."[6]

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6 காழோ ரிகழ்பத நோக்கிக் கீழ
நெடுங்கை யானை நெய்ம்மிதி கவளங்
கடுஞ்சூன் மந்தி கவருங் காவிற்
களிறுகத னடக்கிய வெளிறில் கந்திற்
றிண்டேர் குழித்த குண்டு நெடுந் தெருவிற்
கடைதொலை பறியா மைந்துமலி பெரும்புகழ்ப்
படைசால் யாத்த பல்குடி கெழிஇக்
கொடையுங் கோளும் வழங்குநர்த் தடுத்த
வடையா வாயின் மிளைசூழ் படப்பை
நீணிற வுருவி னெடியோன் கொப்பூழ்
நான்முக வொருவற் பயந்த பல்விதழ்த்
தாமரை பொகுட்டிற் காண்வரத் தோன்றிச்
சுடும ணோங்கிய நெடுநகர் வரைப்பி
னிழுமென் புள்ளி னீண்டுகிளைத் தொழுதிக்
கொழுமென் சினைய கோளி யுள்ளும்
பழமீக் கூறும் பலாஅப் போலப்
புலவுக் கடலுடுத்த வானஞ் சூடிய
மலர்தலை யுலகத் துள்ளும் பலர் தொழ
விழவுமேம் பட்ட படிவிறன் மூதா
ரவ்வாய் வளர் பிறை சூடிச் செவ்வா
யந்தி வானத் தாமழை கடுப்ப
வெண்கோட் டிரும்பிணங் குருதி யீர்ப்ப
வீரைம் பதின்மரும் பொருதுகளத் தவியப்

It has to be remarked that in the above passage the reference to 'many men worshipping and holding festivals in Kāñcī probably means that representatives of the Northen Āgama cults—Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, Jaina, and Bauddha—lived in that city, as they did when Ywan Chwang visited the city two centuries later. In the description of the Bhārata battle may be noticed traces of the iufluence of the later Sanskrit literature characterized by violent hyperbole, unknown to the ancient Tamil bards. This is due to the fact that the author Kaṇṇanār, son of Rudra (Uruttiraṅgaṇṇanār) was a Brāhmaṇa and that the subject of the poem was Kāñcī, which, as I have pointed out, had been Aryanized for about a thousand years before the time of the author. I shall therefore give from this poem a few more Aryan references to show the great difference between this poem and the early anthologies in the matter of allusions to Aryan beliefs. Viṣṇu is referred to as the ancestor of Iḷandiraiyan and described as "having traversed the broad earth, as having in his breast a beautiful mole and as being of the colour of the sea."[7] The passages describing the vedic recitations of the Brāhmaṇas and the yūpas at which they sacrificed have already been quoted. The prowess of Iḷandiraiyan is compared to that of the

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பேரமர்க் கடந்த கொடிஞ்சி நெடுந்தே
ராராச் செருவி னைவர் போல
வடங்காத் தானையோ டென்றுமேல் வந்த
வொன்னாத் தெவ்வ ருலைவிடத் தார்த்துக்
கச்சி யோனே.

Perumb. ll. 393-420.

[7] இருநிலங்கடந்த திருமறு மார்பின்
முந்நீர் வண்ணன்.

Perumb. ll. 29-30.

Pāṇḍavas. "The kings who waited with tribute in front of Iḷandiraiyan's court" are compared to "the sailors who wait on canoes which ply across the broad Ganges on whose bed gold particles roll, which is difficult to cross, flows down from the brightly shining, tall peaks of the fair mountain where the winkless gods reside, and tears through the white foam of the waves of the sea."[8] "The goddess round whom the Tunangai is danced" has been in this poem converted into the Aryan Mother-goddess "whose great womb gave birth to the Red God who wears yellow (gold) ornaments and killed the cruel demon on the expanse of the white waves (of the sea)"[9]. The universe is referred to as "as the beautiful, cool world named after the jambu fruit." i.e., Jambudvīpa.[10] There is besides an allusion to the "science of horses."[11] Finally Munis are said to "tend the red fire with sticks brought by white-tusked

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8 இமையவ ருறையுஞ் சிமையச் செல்வரை
வெண்டிரை கிழித்த விளங்குசுடர் நெடுங்கோட்டுப்
பொன்கொழித் திழிதரும் போக்கருங் கங்கை
பெருநீர் போகு மிரியன் மாக்க
ளொருமரப் பாணியிற் றூங்கி யாங்குத்
தொய்யா வெறுக்கையொடு துவன்றுபு குழீஇ.

Ib. ll. 429-434.

9 வெண்டிரைப் பரப்பிற் கடுஞ்சூர் கொன்ற
பைம்பூட் சேஎய் பயந்தமா மோட்டுத்
துணங்கையஞ் செல்வி.

Ib. ll. 457-459

10 நாவலந்தண் பொழில்.

Ib. l. 465.

11 நூலோர் (புகழ்ந்த புரவி).

Ib. l. 487.

elephants.[12] Not only Aryan ideas but also Sanskrit words occur more frequently in this poem than in the early anthologies; a few examples of words borrowed from Sanskrit, mostly wantonly, are śagaḍam (l. 50), nāḍagam (l. 55), teyvam (l. 104) būdam (l. 235), endiram (l.260), taruppai (l. 264), and amudu (l. 475). But notwithstanding the freer use of Aryan allusions than in contemporary poetic productions, this poem has not been influenced by Sanskrit literature as such; it is a specimen of the guide (āṟṟuppaḍai) class of poems and fully maintains the traditions (called in Tamil marabu) of ancient Tamil literature. It describes the life-conditions of the five regions and the customs of the Tamil people quite like other Tamil poems of the early epoch, though as it was composed in Kāñcī, then the headquarters of Aryan culture in Tamil India, and there are abundant traces of Aryan influence.

Iḷandiraiyan, the hero of the poem, was not famous for any military exploits; though his prowess is described, as usual in such poems, in terms of exaggerated praise, no definite achievement, no victory in any specific battle, no conquest of foreign territory, is attributed to him. Vague phrases of praise such as that "he desired to destroy his enemies' fort-walls and capture their crowns, but not to make peace with them,"[13] mean as little as did the title of king of

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[12] செந்தீப் பேணிய முனிவர் வெண்கோட்டுக்
களிறுதரு விறகின் வேட்கும். Ib, ll. 498-499

பகைவர்
[13] கடிமதி லெறிந்து குடுமி கொள்ளும்
வென்றி யல்லது வினையுடம் படினும்
மொன்றல் செல்லா. Ib. ll. 450-453.

France used by British sovereigns long after they lost every inch of land in France. Hence Iḷandiraiyan's reign of the Kāñcī district has no historical significance. But as he is eulogized by the poet who also sang in praise of Karikāl, Iḷandiraiyan's relationship with the latter becomes an important question which deserves to be discussed. Kanakasabhai assumes that Iḷandiraiyan usurped the throne of Kāñcī during Karikāl's boyhood; but as there is absolutely no evidence for this statement, it deserves no consideration. It is but a bad guess and no more. As Iḷandiraiyan was a contemporary of Karikāl, he must have been appointed ruler of Kāñcī after Karikāl's conquest of the place and continued so after Karikāl's death.

The inscriptions of the Cōḍas of the Telugu country say that Karikāla had a grandson called Toṇḍamana.[14] Iḷandiraiyan being the only known Toṇḍaimān of the poriod is most probably this Toṇḍamana. In Perumbāṇaṟṟuppaḍai, Iḷandiraiyan is called 'the descendent of Toṇḍaiyōr.'[15] This word Toṇḍaiyōr or Toṇḍaiyar was used as indicating a class of people, also called Tiraiyar. This is proved by the fact that it is said that 'the tall hill of Vēṅgaḍam belonged to the

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[14] No. 123 and 205 of 1899. referred to in Madras Epig. Reports 1900—17. These charters naturally do not concern themselves with the sons of Karikāl, who ruled in the Śōḻa country.

[15] தொண்டையோர்மருக.

Perumb. l. 454.

Tiraiyan of victorious spear[16]' by Kaṇṇanār, son of the man of Kāṭṭūr. Another poet of the same age, Erukkāṭṭūr Tāyaṅgaṇṇanār, Kaṇṇan the son of Tāyan of Erukkāṭṭūr, says," Vēṅgaḍam belongs to the Toṇḍaiyar whose well-trained elephants fight valiantly and on whose tall peaks, hard to praise, masses of clouds crawl and from where bright rivulets rise."[17] The word Tiraiyan can be derived only from the word tirai, 'the sea,' 'the wave' and can therefore only mean 'a seaman, 'one belonging to a maritime tribe,' 'a chief of such tribe.' The Tiraiyar were probably the tribe who in early times inhabited the east coast of what are now called Chingleput and North Arcot Districts. The word Toṇḍaiyar is derived from 'toṇḍai' the name of a creeper, Coccinea Indica. Toṇḍaiyar therefore means the tribe or the family which had the toṇḍai as its emblem and wore garlands of it in fighting and on other occasions. As the names of Toṇḍaiyar and Tiraiyar were applied to the same tribe, we can infer that the Tiraiyar tribe used the Toṇḍai as their emblem. Toṇḍaimān was a title of Iḷlandiraiyan; it can only mean 'one to whom pertained the garland of Toṇḍai.' If this Tiraiyan was a chief of the Toṇḍaiyar, how could he have also been

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16 வென்றி வேற்றிரையன் வேங்கட நெடுவரை, Agam 85. l. 9. It may also be noted that Ilandirayan is called in Perumb, l. 37, பல்வேற்றிரையன், 'Tiraiyan of many spears',

17 வினைநவில் யானை விறற் போர்த் தொண்டைய
ரினமழை தவழு மேற்றிரு நெடுங்கோட்
டோங்குவள் ளருவி வேங்கடம்.

Agam. 213, c. ll.-1-3.

the grandson of Karikālan? This could have been if his mother was a Tiraiya woman. That Iḷlandiraiyan was descended both from the Śola and Tiraiya families is mentioned in the Perumbēṇāṟṟuppaḍai. "You are born in the family of (the Śōḻan who is) the descendant of the sea-coloured Viṣṇu who strode over the broad earth and has a blessed mole on his breast, the king noted for being the chief among the three sovereigns whose armies with their loud drums guard all the beings of the broad earth. (The Śōḻan is chief among the kings) because he is as faultless as the right-whorled chank which is reputed to be the best of the shells that come from the bright broad ocean, and his sceptre repels injustice and desires justice. You (also) belong to the family given by the waves."[18]

Naccinārkkiniyar, the commentator on the Ten Songs, was puzzled by the phrase in the above passage, 'given by the waves' and tried to explain it by means of a legend known to him. He says, "the Śōḻan of Nāgapaṭṭinam went through a hole (in the surface of the earth?) to the Nāglōkam and embraced a Nāga girl.

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[18] இருநிலங் கடந்த திருமறு மார்பின்
முன்னீர் வண்ணன் பிறங்கடை யந்நீர்த்
திரைதரு மரபி னுரவோ னும்பன்
மலர்தலை யுலகத்து மன்னுயிர் காக்கு
முரசு முழங்கு தானைமூவ ருள்ளு
மிலங்கு நீர்ப் பரப்பின் வளைமீக் கூறும்
வலம்புரியன்ன வசைநீங்கு சிறப்பி
னல்லது கடிந்த வறம்புரி செங்கோல்.

Perumb. ll. 29-36.

Then she asked him how to dispose of the child of their union. He said to her that if she floated the child on the sea with a bit of the Tonḍai creeper tied for identifying him and if he should reach the shore, he would give the child the rights of sovereignty and grant him a district to rule over. She sent her child as directed by him and as the wave gave him, he was called 'wave-man' (Tiraiyan)." This explanation is patently absurd because the Tiraiyar were a tribe as already shown.[19] Certain recent writers, however, have not only taken this legend to be a historical truth, but have made it more absurd by identifying Iḷandiraiyan with the child of another legendary love affair, this time not of a Nāgapaṭṭinam Śōḻan, but a Kāvirippūmbaṭṭinam Śōḻa King, whose natural son was not floated on the waves but was sent in a ship, was wrecked in a storm and of whom nothing more was heard of. This story occurs in the Maṇimēgalai. The Śōḻa king's pre-occupation with the fate of the child, for unlike the Nāgapaṭṭinam Soḻan, he did not see his son, led to his neglecting to perform an Indra festival which was due at the time, and, as narrated in the romance, this neglect led to the sea swallowing the ancient seaport. Either legend is incredible and blending them together will not confer credibility on them.

The editor of the Puṛam ascribes ode 185 to Tonḍaimān Iḷandiraiyan and also says that ode 95 sings about a Tonḍaimān's armoury. 'Tondaimān' seems to be compounded of the Tamil word 'Tondai' and the Sanskrit suffix 'mān' (mat) and probably means

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[19] And there was another Tiraiyan chief, the lord of Payattiri, who wore gold jewels Agams 310. ll. 6-7.

the chief to whom the Toṇḍai pertains. 'Toṇḍaiyar' means 'the tribe whose symbol was the Toṇḍai creeper'. Toṇḍai, Coccinea Indica, is in modern times more usually called Kōvai, but the name 'Doṇḍe' is the ordinary name of the plant in Telugu. The later Pallava kings, i. e., those who recaptured Kāñcī before 550 A. D. and since then ruled with that place as capital till nearly 900 A. D., mixed with their Tamil subjects, the Toṇḍaiyar, more intimately than the earlier Pallavas and in fact became fully Tamilized. They became patrons of Tamil poets who have referred to them as 'Toṇḍaimān,[20] Toṇḍaiyarkōn,[21] Toṇḍaimannavan,[22] all meaning king of the Toṇḍaiyar. The country also came to be called Toṇḍaināḍu, or Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam (Sanskritized as Tuṇḍaka Viṣaya, Tuṇḍira Viṣaya). But all this took place in the VIII century. Yet some recent writers have argued that Toṇḍaiyar was a translation of Pallavas, or vice versa. This is impossible for Toṇḍai means a particular creeper, either Capparis horrida or Coccinea Indica, whereas Pallava means any sprout, twig, or tender leaf. The Pallava kings were after the VI century called in Tamil 'Pōttaraiyar,' and this may be a translation of Pallava rāja, for pōttu means a twig. Hence all theories deriving 'Toṇḍaiyar,' the name of a Tamil *tribe*, from Pallavar, the name of an Aryanized *royal family* which had emigrated from the North or vice versa, are untenable.

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[20] Sundaramūrti Nāyanār's Vaḍa Tirumullai Vāyil Padigam, st. 10.

[21] Tirumaṅgai Āḻvār's Periyatirumoḻi, ii. 8. 10. 1.

[22] Ib. V. 8. 9. 1.

26

Iḷandiraiyan patronized Tamil poets, because he was a Tamil chief. He was also a Tamil poet himself. One of his odes is found in the Puṛam and is translated here as a specimen of royal poetic composition and not because it is more poetical than that of plebeian poets. "The cart of (royal) protection that is moved over the world, like the cart made by joining a plank to (two) wheels, will move easily along the road without mishap, if the driver is efficient. If he cannot drive well, it will all during the day sink in the mud of hate and give rise to a series of disasters."[23]

After this flight into the region of the science of politics, Iḷandiraiyan composed three odes two in the kind called Neydal, and one in Mullai, all found in the Naṛṛiṇai. The first of them runs thus :—" It is proper that a man should speak loving words to a woman who is weak on account of the mental agitation caused by the disease (of love). What kind of a man, tell me, my playmate, is this lord of the sea-side region where the sprays of the stinking sea-water fall upon the clusters of the buds of the Alexandrian laurel, that he should not bring out my love by understanding that (love of) his breast has caused unbearable distress to me, and, that I, being a woman, have to suppress the light of love (from my

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23 கால்பார் கோத்து ஞாலத் தியக்குங்
காவற் சாகா டுகைப்போன் மாணி
னூறின் றாகி யாறினிது படுமே
யுய்த்த றேற்றா னாயின் வைகலும்
பகைக்கூ ழள்ளற் பட்டு
மிகப்பஃ றீநோய் தலைத்தலைத் தருமே.

Puṛ. 185.

face), just as the lustre is hidden in the raw pearl which the skilled artizan has not cleaned and made bright."[24]

The next poem describes how the companion of the maiden consoles her :—" Maiden, you asked me whether this was the season when your lover, who departed to the cruel desert where beholders are frightened by the heat of the sunlight which looks like a white cloth spread on the long path difficult to cross and which is totally devoid of water, promised to return. (No), the ignorant clouds, forgetting (the proper season), have drunk the waters of the sea, become pregnant till they cannot any more contain the water and have poured it ; and, their foolish minds imagining it to be the season of heavy rain, the ignorant Piḍavu shrubs, the Cassia and the November-flower plant have flowered. (Do not think it is the rainy season).[25]

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24 நோயலைக் கலங்கிய மதனழி பொழுதிற்
காமஞ் செப்ப லாண்மகற் கமையும்
யானென், பெண்மை தட்ப நுண்ணிதிற் றாங்கிக்
கைவல் கம்மியன் கவின்பெறக் கழாஅ
மண்ணாப் பசுமுத் தேய்ப்பக் குவியிணர்ப்
புன்னை யரும்பிய புலவுநீர்ச் சேர்ப்ப
னென்ன மகனகொ றோழி தன்வயி
னார்வ முடைய ராகி
மார்பணங் குறுநரை யறியா தோனே.

Naṛ. 94.

25 நீரற வறந்த நிரம்பா நீளிடைத்
துகில்விரித் தன்ன வெயிலவி ருருப்பி
னஞ்சுவரப் பனிக்கும் வெஞ்சுர மிறந்தோர்
தாம்வரத் தெளித்த பருவங் காண்வர
விதுவோ வென்றிசின் மடந்தை மதியின்று
மறந்து சடன் முகந்த கமஞ்சூன் மாமழை

"My charioteer, have you understood the state of mind of the faultless, young maiden who, while sweet smell issued from her, on the hill of sand gathered by the beating waves of the ocean, wanted to catch the crabs which were playing there and, becoming tired of running after them, gave up the chase, and, when I, now full of distress, proposed to go away from her in search of wealth, became tongue-tied, plucked the sweet flower-clusters from the low branches of the Cassia and rubbed them together with the tender leaves and scattered them with her hands and became dumb-foundered."[26] Of these three poems the former two are ascribed to Iḷandiraiyanār, and the last to Toṇḍaimān Iḷandiraiyan, both being most probably the same person. I think there is an air of artificiality in these poems, indicating that the author is repeating stock phrases of poetic convention, uninspired by first-hand knowledge; as also a trace of the atmosphere of Sanskrit poetry.

பொறுத்தல் செல்லா திறுத்த வண்பயல்
காரென் றுயந்த வுள்ளமொடு தேர்வில
பிடவுங் கொன்றையுங் கோடலு
மடவ வாகலின் மலர்ந்தன பலவே.

Nar. 99.

26 அறிதலு மறிதியோ பாக பெருங்கட
லெறிதிரை கொழீய வெக்கர் வெறிகொள
வாடுவரி யலவ னோடுவயி னாற்று
தசைஇயுள் ளொழிந்த வசைதீர் குறுமகட்
குயவினென் சென்றியா யுண்ணோ புரைப்ப
மறுமொழி பெயர்த்த லாற்று ணறுமலர்
ஞாழ லஞ்சினைத் தாழிணர்க் கொழுதி
முறிதிமிர்ந் துதிர்த்த கைய
னறிவஞ ருறுவி யாய்மட நிலையே.

Nar. 106.

Ilandiraiyan's odes and the Perumbāṇaṟṟuppaḍai are the first Tamil poems from Kāñcīpura district—the Draviḍa country of Sanskrit authors. A work called Iḷandiraiyam, either composed by him or dedicated to him, is mentioned in commentaries of a later age: this seems to have become extinct. For centuries before Iḷandiraiyan's time Aryan or Aryanized Rājas, whose language of administration was Prakrit ruled over Kāñcī district; they did not patronize Tamil poets, who were attached only to the traditional Tamil courts of the Śōḷas, Śēras and Pāṇḍiyas and to those of the many Tamil chieftains. Karikāl's conquest of Kāñcī first brought that place within the ambit of Tamil literature. This explains the total absence of any reference to the Pallavas in the early Tamil poems now extant. After the Pallavas became Tamilized, references to them in Tamil literature become frequent.

Kāñcīpura remained a Śōḷa dependency till the middle of the VI A. D. century when it was captured by the Pallava Kumāraviṣṇu. One of his descendants Śimhaviṣṇu added the Śōḷa province to his territories and this led to great changes in his history of the Tamil land, which it is outside the scope of this volume to recount.

CHAPTER XXII

ŚOLA KINGS AFTER KARIKAL.

Scanty historical information from the odes:

The Text of the one thousand and six hundred odes of the early anthologies contains stray allusions to the deeds ef kings and chieftains. They are casual and also so rare that it is not possible to construct any connected history of the Tamil Kingdoms during the period when the odes were composed, or even full biographies of the persons referred to. As in the case of Karikāl, the names of battles fought by kings, the places where the battles were fought, and the names of the defeated kings can alone be derived from this source. Oftentimes the odes are but vague eulogies of the prowess of kings. Their one virtue is that they are so realistic that exaggerated praise and impossible feats are not ascribed to the monarchs as in the Śilappadigāram and later Tamil poems. The older bards might not have been restrained in the matter of eating and drinking and were devoted too much to the welfare of the singers and dancers they attached themselves to, but they were blunt men who administered rebuke to kings when necessary, and on all occasions gave them sound advice.

Māḍalan Maduraikkumaranār of Eṛiccilūr in Kōnāḍu was, according to the colophon, kept loitering in his court by Perundirumāvaḷavan who died at Kurāppaḷḷi, for a very long time without being given the usual rewards and he scolded the king thus :—

"Lord, we (poets) do not esteem you for your possessing chariots on whose tops the flags fly and which are drawn by horses which gallop as fast as the wind blows, or large elephants which can charge on hills and fight with an army provided with weapons shining like the sea, or for your being victorious in war, your drums roaring as terribly as the thunder. We do not respect the might of your royal white umbrella, which protects your wealth or that you have a large infantry and wear bright jewels. Those that are honoured by us may be lords of small village surrounded by a hedge of thorns, where the people eat boiled ragi which grows on poor soil, along with the short, evil-smelling leaves of the Munnai (Premana integrifolia), which has been left unbrowsed by goats, but they are men who know how to treat us. Even in distress we will not respect the useless wealth of the ignorant; but will think highly of the small wealth of the wise, because it will be of some use to poets."[1]

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[1] வளிநடந் தன்ன வாஅய்ச்செ லிவுளியொடு
கொடிநுடங்கு மிசைய தேரின ராஅக்
கடல்கண் டன்ன வொண்படைத் தானையொடு
மலைமாறு மலைக்குங் களிற்றின ராஅ
வுருமுரற் றன்ன வுட்குவரு முரசமொடு
செருமேம் படூஉம் வென்றிய ராஅ
மண்கெழு தானை யொண்பூண் வேந்தர்
வெண்குடைச் செல்வம் வியத்தலோ விலமே
யெம்மால் வியக்கப் படூஉ மோரே
யிடுமுட் படப்பை மறிமேயந் தொழிந்த
குறுநறு முஞ்ஞைக் கொழுங்கட் குற்றடகு
புன்புல வரகின் சொன்றியொடு பெறூஉஞ்
சிறூர் மன்ன ராயினு மெம்வயிற்

Kanakasabhai identifies the king rebuked here with Karikāl; this is not right, because Karikāl was far too generous a patron of poets to have deserved the rebuke. The only reason adduced by Kanakasabhai for the identification is that both monarchs had the title 'the great Śō̱la king!' Any Śō̱la may be called மாவளவன், this title being no proper name.

In Puṛam 45, when two Śō̱la brothers were fighting with each other, the elder was thus admonished by Kōvūr Ki̱lār :—"(Your brother) is not the wearer of the white earring made of (the leaves of) the great palmyra tree (i. e., he is not a Śēran); nor is he the wearer of the garland (of the leaves) of the black-boughed neem tree (i. e., he is not a Pāṇḍiyan). Your garland is made of the Ātti; your foe's garland, too, is made of the Ātti. Hence if either of you is defeated, it is your house that suffers defeat. It is not possible that both of you can succeed. Hence your conduct is unworthy of your house. This quarrel will make other kings who, like you, possess chariots adorned with flags, swell with joy. Therefore it is proper that you cease this (war)".[2] Though these poems are interesting, they are

பாடறிந் தொழுகும் பண்பி னோரே
மிகப்பே ரெவ்வ முறினு மெனைத்து
முணர்ச்சி யில்லோ ருடைமையுள் ளே
நல்லறி வுடையோர் நல்குர
வுள்ளுதும் பெருமயா முவந்துநனி பெரிதே.

Puṛ. 197.

[2] இரும்பனை வெண்டோடு மலைந்தோ னல்லன்
கருஞ்சினை வேம்பின் றெரியலோ னல்ல
னின்ன கண்ணியு மார்மிடைந் தன்றே, நின்னொடு
பொருவோன் கண்ணியு மார்மிடைந் தன்றே

not of use as historical sources on account of the poverty of the information they give us.

Modern scholars in dealing with the poets who composed these odes have assumed that the identity of names, though unsupported by other evidence internal or external, proves the identity of individuals. This is an absurd assumption. For there are four individuals of the name of Nakkīranār, one, the author of several odes in the early anthologies and of Tirumurugāṟṟuppadai and Nedunalvāḍai in the Ten Songs, two, author of a book of prosody, called Nāladi Nārpadu, three, the legendary first expounder of Agapporuḷ, and four, the author of certain Śaiva hymns of a later period, and Tamil scholars have amalgamated them into one human being. This procedure stands very much in the way of all research into the gradual evolution of Tamil poetry and gives a handle to those who hold that Tamil poetry arose only after Tamil bards learnt Sanskrit poetry, and try to prove their proposition by putting later poems before earlier ones, in violation of all internal and external evidence.

Unreliability of the Colophons to the Puṛam Odes:

When the four anthologies were made up in the V and VI centuries A. D., for each ode was noted the name of the tiṇai (and perhaps tuṛai) to which it belonged and the name of its author. That is how the Agam, the

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யொருவீர் தோற்பினுந் தோற்பதுங் குடியே
யிருவீர் வேற லியற்கையு மன்றே, அதனாற்
குடிப்பொரு ளன்றுநுஞ் செய்தி கொடித்தேர்
நும்மோ ரன்ன வேந்தர்க்கு
மெய்ம்மலி யுவகை செய்யுமிவ் விகலே.

Puṛ. 45.

Naṟṟiṇai, and the Kuṟundogai have come down to us. But the Puṟam as we have it has besides, (1) colophons indicating the particular occasions when each of the first two hundred and sixty six odes were sung, (2) paraphrases of these two hundred and sixty-six odes and brief notes grammatical or interpretive. The colophons stop where the paraphrases stop and probably both were done by an editor of the age when commentaries were composed on old Tamil poems, i. e., probably between the XII and XVI centuries. The colophons, and not the commentaries, are resumed with the three hundred and fifty-ninth ode and are continued to the end.

Most Tamil scholars have displayed a superstitious reverence for these colophons. When they use the information given in them they say, 'it is mentioned in the Puṟam,' when they ought to say 'it is mentioned in the colophons to the Puṟam odes, or it is mentioned in the commentaries to the Puṟam odes'. It is high time that scholars gave up confounding the texts of poems with the commentaries of probably a thousand years later. Moreover it is too readily assumed that the editor of the Puṟam has recorded in every case the tradition remembered in his time. Even if all the information given by him is allowed to be traditional it ought to be taken cum grano salis ; for tradition is known to grow like a snowball from age to age and to become charged with legends, especially of the marvellous variety.

The Occasional Unreliability of the Colophons:

It is evident that some of the colophons appended to the poems by the editor do not embody tradition, but contain guesses, sometimes wild. For example, Puṟam

76 and 77 are said to be eulogies of Neḍuñjeḻiyan, the victor of Talaiyālaṅgānam, sung by Iḍaikkunṟūr Kiḻār. Puṟam 76 runs thus:—"It is nothing novel that one man should kill another or that one should be defeated by another; this is natural in the world. But we have never heard before now, that the greatness and might of the Pāṇḍiyan, who wore the honey-dripping garland made by intertwining the bright leaves growing on the thick boughs of the big-trunked neem tree of the assembly-hall, with the long vine of the uḻiñai and wore the flower-garland also, who possessed the wealth of the beautiful land where the sweet-sounding, clear sound of the war-drum is heard, and wore jewels made of yellow gold, should not be realized by the seven (heroes), wearers of heroes' anklets, who joined together and proceeded against him, but were defeated and killed by him single-handed.[3]

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[3] ஒருவனை யொருவ னடுதலுந் தொலைதலும்
புதுவ தன்றிவ் வுலகத் தியற்கை
யின்றி னூங்கோ கேளலந் திரளரை
மன்ற வேம்பின் மாச்சினை யொண்டளிர்
நெடுங்கொடி யுழிஞைப் பலரொடு மிடைந்து
செறியத் தொடுத்த தேம்பாய் கண்ணி
யொலியன் மாலையொடு பொலியச் சூடிப்
பாடின் றெண்கிணை கறங்கக் காண்டக
நாடுகெழு திருவிற் பசும்பூட் செழியன்
பீடுஞ் செம்மலு மறியார் கூடிப்
பொருது மென்று தன்றலை வந்த
புனைகழ லெழுவர் நல்வல மடங்க
வொருதா னாகிப் பொருதுகளத் தடலே.

Puṟ. 76.

The next ode says, "who is this that stands here? From his legs the (boy's) tinkling anklets have (just) been removed and round it the hero's anklet has been put; from his head the (boy's) hair-tuft has been shaven and on it the garland made of tender margosa leaves and the uḷiñai creeper has been wound; from his hands the short bangles have been taken away and in them he holds the bow; and he stands so as to adorn the carved post of the chariot. Whoever he may be, may his garland not fade for a long time; though he wears a (warrior's) garland, he has not discarded the (boy's) gold necklet (with five pendants); to-day (for the first time) he gave up milk-food and ate rice. He neither respects nor disregards the new warriors who came one after another against him; nor even did he feel exultation or pride that he got tight hold of them and threw them against the broad sky, so that they fell face downwards on the ground and were killed."[4] The writer of the

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[4] கிண்கிணி களைந்தகா லொண்கழ றொட்டுக்
குடுமி களைந்தநுதல் வேம்பி னொண்டளிர்
நெடுங்கொடி யுழிஞைப் பவரொடு மிலைந்து
குறுந்தொடி கழித்தகைச் சாபம் பற்றி
நெடுந்தேர்க் கொடிஞ்சி பொலிய நின்றோன்
யார் சொல் வாழ்கவவன் கண்ணி தார்பூண்டு
தாலி களைந்தன்று மிலனே பால்விட்
டயினியு மின்றியின் றனனே வயின்வயி
னுடன்றுமேல் வந்த வம்ப மள்ளரை
வியந்தன்று மிழிந்தன்று மிலனே யவரை
யழுந்தப் பற்றி யகல்விசும் பார்ப்பெழக்
கவிழ்ந்து நிலஞ் சேர வட்டதை
மகிழ்ந்தன்று மலிந்தன்று மதனினு மிலனே.

Puṟ. 77.

colophons says that both songs were sung by the same poet in eulogy of the same king. It is impossible to believe that the hero-victor of Talaiyālaṅgāram, known to the poet, and the boy-hero, unknown to the poet, were one and the same person. The only thing we may be sure of is that both belonged to the house of the Pāṇḍiyas. The colophon to Puṛam 77 is a guess and a bad guess at that.

Another poem, Puṛam 74, praises the fortitude of royal persons to this effect:—"Royal babes that die and even moles delivered from the wombs of queens, even though they are not men, are cut to pieces with swords (as a symbol of the duty of warriors to seek death in battle-fields). When this is so, could any king beget a son who, when tied like a chained dog, would be so weak as to drink water charitably offered by his jailor, for allaying the fire in his stomach?"[5] Now the editor says that when Irumboṛai was captured and imprisoned in the room near the West gate (of the palace), he begged for water, he did not get it, and when he got it later on, held it in his hand, composed this poem, and died without drinking it. This is not impossible, there is nothing incredible in the legend, but the text does not give any indications about the persons involved and there is nothing to disprove the view that

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[5] குழவி யிறப்பினு மூன்றடி பிறப்பினு
மாளன் றென்று வாளிற் றப்பார்
தொடர்ப்படு ஞமலியி னிடர்ப்படுத் திரீஇய
கேளல் கேளிர் வேளாண் சிறுபத
மதுகை யின்றி வயிற்றுத்தீத் தணியத்
தாமிரந் துண்ணு மளவை
யீன்ம ரோவிவ் வுலகத் தானே.

Puṛ. 74.

the editor had heard of the legend and tacked it on to the poem. There are also doubts about the truth of the legend. There is an anthology of Tamil poems, with very brief comments on some, made before the XVI century and called by the curious name of 'Biography of Tamil Poets' (Tamiḻ Nāvalar Varalāṟu), which it is not. This ode occurs as Poem 158 in this collection and the note added says 'when Śēran Kaṇaikkāl Irumboṟai was imprisoned by Śeṅgaṇān in a room at the East gate (of his palace), the Śēran composed this ode and sent it to Poygaiyār a poet-friend of his. When Poygaiyār heard this, he sang a poem (in praise of Śeṅgaṇān, called) Kaḷvaḻi Nārpadu, and Śeṅgaṇān released the Śēran and gave him back his throne."[6] The fact that the two legends contradict each other shows that supposed traditions which Tamil scholars regard as sacrosanct are but brittle reeds to lean upon in historical investigation.

Other such poems there are, the subject-matter of which bears no relation to the story told in the colophon attached to them. I give one more example. Puṟam 47 says:—"Like birds seeking for a tree which bears fruit, bards go in search of liberal patrons; without minding the distance, they pass along difficult paths and with their untrained tongues sing as well as they can. With the reward obtained they feed their relatives, and without saving any thing, they consume it and give it away to others with a light heart. The life of these seekers after patronage is free from the blame of harming others. They defeat with their learning those that dispute with them and stand erect and

[6] Tamiḻ Nāvalar Varalāṟu, p. 57.

behave pleasantly. Their life is as great as that which is led by you, who art famous and rule the land."[7] To this poem is attached the colophon that "when the poet Iḷandattan from Nalaṅgiḻḻi, the Śōḻa King, went to Uṟaiyūr, Neḍuṅgiḻḻi who died at the Kāriyāṟu thought he was a spy and wanted to kill him, but Kōvūrkiḻār sang this ode and saved him." Besides the objection that there is nothing in the poem remotely suggesting a spy, there is the further objection that Kōvūrkiḻār was a favourite of the enemies of Neḍuṅgiḻḻi i.e., Nalaṅgiḻḻi and Kiḻḻivaḷavan and therefore not likely to have any influence with Neḍuṅgiḻḻi.

The colophon to Puṟam 173 says that the ode was addressed by the Śōḻa king Kiḻḻivaḷavan who died at Kuḷamuṟṟam in honour of Paṇṇan of Śiṟuguḍi. It says :— "May Paṇṇan live as long as I live! You bards, note the distress of the relatives of this man. We hear the noise of men feeding, as great as that of birds on a tree which has newly borne fruit. We see boys go in all directions along with their relatives with cooked food

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[7] வள்ளியோர்ப் படர்ந்து புள்ளிற் போகி
நெடிய வென்னாது சுரம்பல கடந்து
வடியா நாவின் வல்லாங்குப் பாடிப்
பெற்றது மகிழ்ந்து சுற்ற மருத்தி
யோம்பா துண்டு கூம்பாது வீசி
வரிசைக்கு வருந்துமிப் பரிசில் வாழ்க்கை
பிறர்க்குத் தீதறிந் தன்றோ வின்றே, திறப்பட
நண்ணார் நாண வண்ணாந் தேகி
யாங்கினி தொழுகி னல்ல தோங்குபுகழ்
மண்ணாள் செல்வ மெய்திய
நும்மோ ரன்ன செம்மலு முடைத்தே.

Puṟ. 47.

in their hands, as the small ants, when they know that the cloud which rains in the proper season is going to rain, take their eggs (in their mouths) and resort to high ground; but yet on account of the distress of hunger and of our travel from far places, we ask again and again, is the house of the curer of hunger near? or far? Tell us."[8] It is impossible to regard this ode but as the song of a hungry bard in search of a patron; yet it is attributed to a royal personage by the editor of Puṛam. Many more such colophons can easily be found in the anthology I therefore think that the colophons to the poems cannot be accepted as all reliable. Yet most scholars have treated the information given in the colophons as gospel-truth and have constructed schemes of the contemporaneity of the authors and kings and even attempted to evolve genealogical lists of the kings referred to and the political history of the period. But no one such reconstruction agrees with another: and nine of the contradictory dynastic lists of

[8] யான்வாழு நாளும் பண்ணன் வாழிய
பாணர் காண்கிவன் கடும்பின திடும்பை
யாணர்ப் பழுமரம் புள்ளிமிழ்ந் தன்ன
வூணொலி யரவந் தானுங் கேட்கும்
பொய்யா வெழிலி பெய்விட நோக்கி
முட்டை கொண்டு வற்புலஞ் சேருஞ்
சிறிறுண் ணெறும்பின் சில்லொழுக் கேய்ப்பச்
சோறுடைக் கையர் வீறுவீ றியங்கு
மிருங்கிளைச் சிறாஅர்க் காண்டுங் கண்டு
மற்று மற்றும் வினவுதுந் தெற்றெனப்
பசிப்பிணி மருத்துவ னில்ல
மணித்தோ சேய்த்தோ கூறுமி னெமக்கே.

Puṛ. 173.

the period constructed by Kanakasabhai and others from the information contained in these colophons can be regarded as in any way acceptable; all the more so because as a result of such reconstructions, an impossibly long list of kings and poets have been crushed into one short period, leaving a dark blank before and behind.

Moreover the evidence of these colophons, in defiance of the internal evidence of the poems themselves, has made these modern scholars assign all that remains of ancient Tamil literature, the waifs of different epochs, to one poor century or half-century. This reduces history to absurdity, for it leads to the impossible view that Tamil literature, without a previous history, in violation of the law of evolution, burst into a sudden blaze in one period and straightway the Tamil muse became dumb for several centuries. Along with others I have wasted several years in trying to extract reliable history from these colophons and have come to the conclusion that they are an inextricable tangle of fact and fiction, of tradition and guess, and therefore useless for the purpose of constructing genelogical lists of kings. At best a few notes on the life of a few kings can be recovered from these poems.

Nalaṅgiḷḷi :

After Karikāl's death the empire that he founded went to pieces. Rēnāḏu was ruled by Telugu princes who called themselves Cōḏas (the ḏ being the Telugu equivalent of the Tamil ḷ); during their rule Telugu gradually came to be a written language, being used in inscriptions and in a few centuries it became also a literary language. The Śēra and Pāṇḍiya kingdoms regained their independence, so much so that Nalaṅgiḷḷi,

possibly the immediate successor of Karikāl on the Śōl̤a throne (though we have no evidence on the point), had to fight with them often to assert his superiority to them. Says the poet Kōvūr Kil̤ār:—"As amongst the objects of human life wealth and pleasure come after dharma,[9] so the two umbrellas (those of the Śēran and the Pāṇḍiyan) come after your single umbrella. Desiring that your fame should rise high like the white moon, you are spending all your time in military camps (and never in your city). Your elephants, the tips of whose tusks have been blunted by battering the fort-walls of your enemies, are having no rest. Your soldiers who wear the bracelets of heroes and are always eager for war, do not hesitate to march to the enemies' distant territories situated in the middle of the forests. Your horses first stay in the battle-fields where the war-festival is celebrated and go from the eastern ocean right round till the white waves of the western ocean wash their hoofs. The kings of the northern region are watching with sleepless eyes and are trembling with fear."[10] Reading

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[9] This phrase shows that Aryan ideas were now rapidly gaining ground in Tamil India. Such a simile, involving the Aryan concept of the objects of life and comparing concrete objects with abstract ideas, cannot be discovered in Tamil literature before the time of Karikāl.

[10] சிறப்புடை மரபிற் பொருளு மின்பமு
மறத்து வழிப் படூஉந் தோற்றம் போல
விருகுடை பின்பட வோங்கிய வொருகுடை
யுருகெழு மதியி னிவந்துசேண் விளங்க
நல்லிசை வேட்டம் வேண்டி வெல்போர்ப்
பாசறை யல்லது நீயொல் லாயே

between the lines, this means that Nalangiḷḷi had to be fighting always in order not to lose his throne. This inference is supported by other poems which speak of civil war in the Śōḻa country. One Neduṅgiḷḷi was besieged by him in Uṛaiyūr.[11] Nalaṅgiḷḷi's capital was Kāvirippūmpaṭṭinam[12] and Neduṅgiḷḷi apparently usurped the throne at Uṛaiyūr and brought the inland portion of the Śōḻa territory under his sway; and Nalaṅgiḷḷi fought with him to recover it.

The songs that praise Nalaṅgiḷḷi are more in number than the eulogies of many other Kings.

The troubled times in which he lived seem to have developed a melancholic attitude in the minds of his bards. In an ode by one of these occurs for the first time

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நுதிமுக மழுங்க மண்டி யொன்னார்
கடிமதில் பாயுநின் களிறடங் கலவே
போரெனிற் புகலும் புனைகழன் மறவர்
காடிடைக் கிடைந்த நாடுநனி சேஎய
செவ்வே மல்லே மென்னார் கல்லென்
விழவுடை யாங்கண் வேற்றுப்புலத் திறுத்துக்
குணகடல் பின்ன தாகக் குடகடல்
வெண்டலைப் புணரிநின் மான்குளம் பலைப்ப
வலமுறை வருதலு முண்டென் றலமந்து
நெஞ்சுநடுங் கவலம் பாயத்
துஞ்சா கண்ண வடபுலத் தரசே.

Puṛ. 31.

[11] Puṛ. 45, already quoted and translated.

[12] Puṛ. 30, ll. 10-14, which according to the colophon was sung in honour of Nalaṅgiḷḷi, quoted and translated already. I have used the information in the colophon, where it appears to be unquestionable.

in Tamil poetry, a pessimistic note conspicuous for its absence in earlier poems; for thus sang Mudu Kaṇṇanār of Uṟaiyūr to this king :—"Consider the kings who were born in excellent families and flourished one after another like rows of the flowers of the lotus which grows in mud and possesses a hundred bright petals. Of these but a few are famed in song; many have dropped like the lotus leaf (unknown). Those who have been sung by poets, they say, get into aerial chariots not driven by (the mortal hands of) pilots, they having performed good deeds, as I have heard. My sire, Śēṭcenni Nalangiḷḷi, the moon-god shows even to the most ignorant that all things wane and wax, die and are reborn in this world over which he roams. Whoever comes to you, whether he be powerless or powerful, look at the distressed and help them. May your enemies be the ungracious wretches who never help others."[1]

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1 சேற்றுவளர் தாமரை பயந்த வொண்கேழ்
நூற்றித ழலரி னிரைகண் டன்ன
வேற்றுமை யில்லா விழுத்திணைப் பிறந்து
வீற்றிருந் தோரை யெண்ணுங் காலை
யுரையும் பாட்டு முடையோர் சிலரே
மரையிலை போலமாய்ந் திசினோர் பலரே
புலவர் பாடும் புகழுடையோர் விசும்பின்
வலவ னேவா வான வூர்தி
யெய்துப வென்பதஞ் செய்வினை முடித்தெனக்
கேட்ப லெந்தை சேட்சென்னி நலங்கிள்ளி
தேய்த லுண்மையு பெருக லுண்மையு
மாய்த லுண்மையும் பிறத்த லுண்மையு
மறியா தோரையு மறியக் காட்டித்
திங்கட் புத்தே டிரிதரு முலகத்து
வல்லா ராயினும் வல்லுந ராயினும்

The Śōḻān who died at Kuḷamuṟṟam:

Another Sōḻa king, called Kiḷḷivaḷavan, has been sung in more poems and by more bards than any other Kiḷḷi and Vaḷavan, being both titles, meaning Śōḻa princes, this particular king was given after death the title, 'Kiḷḷivaḷavan, who died at Kuḷamuṟṟam.' According to the colophons he was the patron of ten poets, all of whom sung odes in his honour. These poets refer specially to his liberal patronage of poets. He seems to have quarrelled with a Śēra king, for his siege of Vañji, the Śēra capital, is sung by two poets. "You know best, whether slaying or abstaining from it will redound to your credit. Girls who wear anklets filled with pebbles and small bangles, made (by the goldsmith) with a long tool, are throwing up and catching little balls made of gold in the shape of the nuts of the Guilandina bonduce so that the white sands of cool Porunai river (which flows near Karūr) are scattered by their play. The trees of the defence forests (round Karūr) are being felled by means of axes with long poles and blades sharpened by the strong-armed blacksmith with files; the sound of the cutting of the trees and the falling of long branches and the smell of the scattered flowers, reach the (Śēran's) well-guarded palace surrounded by long walls; yet without shame the king remains (within the battlements). That you fought with such a king while your drum adorned

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வருந்தி வந்தோர் மருங்கு நோக்கி
யருள வல்லை யாகுமதி யருளிலர்
கொடாமை வல்ல ராகுக
கெடாத துப்பினின் பகையெதிர்ந் தோரே.

Puṟ. 27.

with bow-like garlands was beaten, is likely to cause shame."[14]

A female bard of the name of Mārōkkattu Nappaśalaiyar[15] thus sings of the same hostilities between Kiḷḷivaḷavan and his contemporary Śēran:—"You who are descended from him who entered (i.e., sat on) the scale of the steelyard made of (lit. turned from) the white ivory from the elephant which has feet like a (wooden) mortar, for the purpose of relieving the distress of a pigeon! To help the beggar is (so natural to you) that it need not be specially praised. If it is remembered that one of your ancestors destroyed the fort (of the Asuras) which was hanging from the sky and so strong that foes could not approach it, it is needless to praise your bravery in killing your enemies. As Justice is

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[14] அடுநை யாயினும் விடுநை யாயினு
நீயளந் தறிதிநின் புரைமை வார்கோற்
செறியரிச் சிலம்பிற் குறுந்தொடி மகளிர்
பொலஞ்செய் கழங்கிற் றெற்றி யாடுந்
தண்ணான் பொருநை வெண்மணற் சிதையக்
கருங்கைக் கொல்ல னரஞ்செ யவ்வாய்
நெடுங்கை நவியம் பாய்தலி னிலையழிந்து
வீகமழ் நெடுஞ்சினை புலம்பக் காவுதொறுங்
கடிமரந் தடியு மோசை தன்னூர்
நெடுமதில் வரைப்பிற் கடிமனை யியம்ப
வாங்கினி திருந்த வேந்தனொ டீங்குநின்
சிலைத்தார் முரசங் கறங்க
மலைத்தனை யென்பது நாணுத்தக வுடைத்தே.

Puṟ. 36.

[15] The name taken literally, means 'She of Marokkam (a village near Koṛkai) whose face was allow.'

seated in the sabhā of the valiant Śōḻas in Uṛaiyur, it is nothing specially praiseworthy that you should be just. Vaḷavan, whose strong shoulders, after fighting valiantly in the battle-field, have cut the defence-trees of the enemy, how can I sing the greatness of your powerful feet which have ruined fadeless Vañji,[16] after destroying the Śēran who is the lord of the bow, who has carved the bow, as a symbol of his might, on the Himalayas with the boundless peaks shedding gold, and who owns loftly chariots?[17] Uṛaiyūr was proverbially famous for

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[16] Vāñji being the name of a town as well as of a flower, is called 'fadeless', for the town does not fade, but the flower fades. Such puns are frequent in the old poems.

[17] புறவி னல்லல் சொலியக் கறையடி
யானை வான்மருப் பெறிந்த வெண்கடைக்
கோனிறை துலாஅம் புக்கோன் மருக
வீதனின் புகழு மன்றே சார்த
லொன்னா ருட்குந் துன்னருங் கடுந்திறற்
றூங்கெயி லெறிந்தநின் னூங்கணோர் நினைப்பி
னடுதனின் புகழு மன்றே கெடுவின்று
மறங்கெழு சோழ ருறந்தை யவையத்
தறநின்று நிலையிற் றாகலி னதனான்
முறைமைநின் புகழு மன்றே மறமிக்
கெழுசமங் கடந்த வெழுவுறழ் திணிதோட்
கண்ணார் கண்ணி கலிமான் வளவ
யாங்கன மொழிகோ யானே யோங்கிய
வரையளந் தறியாப் பொன்படு நெடுங்கோட்
டிமயஞ் சூட்டிய வேம விற்பொறி
மாண்வினை நெடுந்தேர் வானவன் றொலைய
வாடா வஞ்சி வாட்டுநின்
பீடுகெழு நோன்றாள் பாடுங் காலே.

Puṛ. 39.

its hall of justice, probably from the time when Karikāl justly decided a difficult case when he was a boy, (Vide p. 339 supra); and Madura for her Tamil learning. Pur. 58 speaks of அறந்துஞ் சுறந்தை, 'Uṛaiyūr where justice stays always' (l. 9) and தமிழ்கெழு கூடல், 'Madura to which Tamil belongs (l. 13.)'

It will be noticed that in the last ode appear for the first time two legends about the ancestory of the Śōḻas. One of legends is that certain Asuras lived in a castle hanging from the sky and from there oppressed the Devas and an ancient Śōḻa king destroyed the castles and thus relieved the distress of the poor Devas; such stories, not only about the Śōḻas but also about the Pāṇḍiyas, were invented in this age and helped on the movement of the Aryanization of the Tamil mind, The other legend is that Śivi was one of the ancestors of of the Śōḻas. The story of Śivi cutting off a piece of flesh from his thigh and offering it to a kite that pursued a pigeon, because the latter begged Śivi to save it, is well-known. This attribution of descent from Śivi to Śōḻa princes occurs also in Puṛam 37,[18] also by

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[18] 'Son of the Śōḻan who had an army of fierce warriors armed with white spears and who cured the distress of the bird.'

புள்ளுறு புன்கண் டீர்த்த வெள்வேற்
சினங்கெழு தானைச் செம்பியன் மருக.

Puṛ. 37 ll. 5-6,

It will be remembered that in the Perumbāṇāṛṛup-paḍai, the Śōḻan is called but the descendant of Viṣṇu. Vide p. 399, supra.

Nappaśalaiyār, and in Puṛam 46,[19] by Kōvur Kiḻār. It occurs also in Puṛam 43,[20] addressed to the younger brother of one Tiruviṟṟēr Vaṇkilli the fortunate chariot-warrior, (said to be Nalaṅgiḷḷi). In later times the Śōḻas were said to belong to the solar dynasty, for which I have not been able to find a reference in the Puṛam; but if they were descended from Śivi, they ought to have belonged to the Lunar dynasty, for Śivi, son of Uṣīnara was descended from Yayāti of the Lunar dynasty. Even Kamban, the most admired Tamil epic poet, did not see this difficulty for he boldly makes Śivi an ancestor of Rāma of the Solar dynasty. The Padma Purāṇa derives all the three Tamil royal lines from Turvasu of the Lunar dynasty.[21] Evidently the people who invented an Aryan status for Tamil princes had

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[19] 'Son of him who relieved the trouble of the pigeon.' புறவி னல்லல்.........விடுத்தோன் மருகனை.

Pur. 46 ll. 1-2.

[20] 'Descendant of the hero, who was so magnanimous as not to hesitate to enter the scales, without fearing death himself, but afraid of the destruction of the short-gaited pigeon which had sought refuge with him from being hit by the kite which has bent feathers and sharp claws.'

கொடுஞ் சிறைக்
கூருகிர்ப் பருதி னேறு குறித்தொரீஇத்
தன்னகம் புக்க குறுநடைப் புறவின்
றபுதி யஞ்சிச் சீரை புக்க
வரையா வீகை யுரவோன் மருக.

Pur. 43 ll. 4-8.

[21] Pad. Pur. VI. 250, 1-2, referred to by Pargiter Anc. Ind. Hist. Trad. p. 108.

but a dim knowledge of the Puranas. The poetess boldly makes Śivi a Śembiyan, i.e., Sōḻa prince.

Kiḷḷivaḷavan seems to have been as generous a patron of letters as Karikāl himself. His eulogist sings, "You, beggar, who with ceasless question and elderly month tell me, 'Stay here for some time, bard with a small yāl, furnished with strings (which utter music) sweet as honey and whose drum (uḍukkai) with clear eyes, tied to a stick and looking like the tank-tortoise stuck on a skewer, sounds sweetly', listen to me. Know that Kiḷḷivaḷavan is lord of a fertile country where but the fire of cooking and not the fire of the foe is known and which yields food and water which, like the cool tank in the month of Tai is not exhausted by people taking water from it."[22]. In this poem the last simile has to be specially noted. This is, so far as I have been able to find, the earliest indication that the Aryan classification of months and their Sanskrit names had been accepted by the Tamils. In Naṟṟinai, there is a reference to girls 'bathing in the

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[22] தேஎந் தீந்தொடைச் சீறியாழ்ப் பாண
கயத்துவாழ் யாமை காழ்கோத் தன்ன
நுண்கோற் றகைத்த தெண்கண் மாக்கிணை
யினிய காண்கிவட் டணிகெனக் கூறி
வினவ லானா முதுவா யிரவல
தைஇத் திங்கட் டண்கயம் போலக்
கொளக் கொளக்குறைபடாக் கூழுடை வியனகர்
அடுதீ யல்லது சுடுதீ யறியா
திருமருந்து விளைக்கு நன்னாட்டுப் பொருநன்
கிள்ளி வளவ னல்லிசை யுள்ளி.

Pur. 70-ll. 1-10.

cool tank in the month of Tai', [23] perhaps as a religious duty. The Kuṛundogai speaks of "the clear water of the spring being as cool as that in the month of Tai." [24] Poems where this phrase occurs cannot belong to an earlier age than the V cent. A. D. Puṛam 229, ll-1-12, probably one of the latest in that anthology sings about the Śēran, Yānaikkaṭccy Māndarañjēral Irumboṛai, gives the position of some planets and stars on the day when a meteor fell. The information is not clear and full enough to enable us to find out when the phenomenon took place; but it could not have been before the end of the V century A. D. seeing that the king was one of the latest of the period we are considering.

A curious custom among princes is mentioned in one of the eulogies of Kiḷḷivaḷavan. Ancient Tamil princes, when they defeated their rivals, captured among other booty their crowns and made anklets for their own legs from the gold of their foe's crowns. This was the Tamil ideal of royal glorification and of the degradation of enemies. Thus sings the bard:— "Your heroism is so great that you have destroyed the forts which were defended by your enemies; you have killed them, and with the gold of their royal

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23 தைஇத் திங்கட் டண்கயம் படியும்.

Nar, Ib. 80, l. 7.

24 சுனைத் தெண்ணீர்
தைஇத் திங்கட் டண்ணிய.

Ib. 194, ll. 3-4.

crowns made anklets of heroism which shine on your feet."[25]

A more savage punishment of the enemy meted out by the Śōlan was "the razing to the ground his fortifications and the burning in the day-time of the town belonging to the Śēran."[26] Apparently war was no more a game as in the earlier days, but had degenerated into savagery. Irumboṛai, lord of Toṇḍi, another late Śēra chief, defeated one Mūvan, plucked his strong teeth, sharp like thorn, and fixed them on the door of his fort.[27]

Among the poets that sang odes in honour of Killivaḷavan were two, Kōvūr Kiḻār and Ālattūr Kiḻār,[28]

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25 நீயே பிறரோம் புற்ற மறமன்னெயி
லோம்பாது கடந்தட் டவர் முடி புனைந்த
பசும் பொன்னி னடி பொலிய
கழறை இய வல்லாளனை
வயவேந்தே.

Puṛ. 40 l. 1-5.

26 குட்டுவ
னகப்பா வழிய நூறிச் செம்பியன்
பகற்றீ வேட்ட ஞாட்பின்."

Naṛ. 14. ll. 3-5.

27 மூவன்
முழுவலி முள்ளெயி றழுத்திய கதவிற்
கானலந் தொண்டிப் பொருநன்.

Naṛ. 18, M. 2-4.

28 Kiḻār means 'one that owns or one that belongs to.' Hence when we find poets named Ālattūr Kiḻār or Kōvūr Kiḻār, etc., we have to interpret the words as 'the bard of Ālattūr,' 'the bard of Kōvūr, etc. Many poets whose poems were included in these anthologies had similar village names, but no personal names.

who have also eulogized Nalangiḷḷi. Therefore these two Śōḻas were near kinsmen, probably brothers, who ruled either one after the other or both at the same time in different places. But there is no information about their relationship in the poems themselves.

The Śilappadigāram refers to a Vaḷavan Kiḷḷi who was brother-in-law of Śenguṭṭuvan, the Śera king, and says that the latter defeated in one day nine Śōḻa princes who were the enemies of Vaḷavan Kiḷḷi.[29] This Vaḷavan Kiḷḷi has been identified with this Kiḷḷi Vaḷavan by certain modern scholars; but seeing that, as the

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Personal names seen to have scarcely existed before the custom prevailed in the VI century of giving the names of Aryan gods to men; whatever names were used before that time were nicknames like 'the black-naped'. Irumbidartpalangār, village-names, like 'he of Māngudi, Māngudikiḻār, caste-names preceded by an adjective, like Iḷanāganār. This was true even of kings. Even to-day, though people have proper names in villages, the old fashion of nicknames is almost universal.

[29] ஆர்புனை தெரிய லொன்பது மன்னரை
நேரிவாயில் நிலைச் செரு வென்று.

Śil. xxviii. ll. 116-7.

'Having in the battle of Nērivāyil defeated nine princes who wore the garland of Ātti flowers.'

மைத்துன வளவன் கிள்ளியொடு பொருந்தா
ஒத்த பண்பின ரொன்பது மன்னர்
இளவரசு பொறூஅர் எவல் கேளார்
வளநா டழிக்கும் பண்பின ராதலின்
ஒன்பது குடையு மொருபக லொழித்தவன்.

Ib. ll. 118-122.

odes quoted above prove, Kiḻḻi Vaḷavan was a great warrior and such an enemy of the Śēran as to burn his city in the course of one day, we cannot believe that he sought or obtained the assistance of Śēran Seṅguttuvan. Kiḻḻi and Vaḷavan, merely mean 'Śōḻa King,' and can apply to any monarch of the Śōḻa country. Hence the particular Śōḻan we are dealing with was called 'the Kiḻḻi Vaḷavan who died at Kuḷamuṟṟam.'

The person who secured Śeṅguṭṭuvan's help was an heir apparent, and not a reigning sovereign. Hence it is wrong to identify this Śōḻan with Neḍumuḍikkiḻḻi, as Krishnaswami Iyengar has done, for Neḍumuḍikkilli was not an iḷavaraśu (heir-apparent). [30]

'(Śeṅguṭṭuvan). who destoryed in the course of one day, the nine umbrellas of the nine confederate princes who did not agree with his brother-in-law Vaḷvan Kiḻḻi and would not accept his heir-apparentship.'

[30] Manimekkalai in its Historical setting, p. 35, where the author calls Neḍumuḍikkilli Śeṅguṭṭuvan's "chola contemproray." This is in contradiction to the statement of the Uraiperukaṭṭurai, 4, (prologue-epitome of the epic) of Śilappadigāram that Śēṅguṭṭuvan's contemporary was Śōḻan Peruṅgiḻḻi and the statement of the commentator, Aḍiyārkkunallār, in his comments on this passage of Uraiperukaṭṭurai, that he was Perunaṟkillai (was he the one who performed the Rājasūya ?). Krishnaswami Iyengar apparently prefers his theory of the contemporaneity of the Śilappadigāram and the Maṇimēgalai, to the express statements of the prologue and the commentator, notwithstanding his respect from tradition.

Kanakasabhai makes a worse mistake, when he says that this Kiḷḷivaḷavan was the father of the Śōḻa prince Udayakumāran, who was smitten with Maṇimēgalai's charms and lost his life on that account.[31] The Maṇimēgalai is a pure romance and worthless as a source of history. In that poem a certain Puṇṇiyarāśan of Nāgapuram says that once he sailed to Kāvirippaṭṭinam for securing the friendship of Kiḷḷivaḷavan and there heard that there was in the whole world (nāvalandīvil) none comparable to Maṇimēgalai.[32] Kanakasabhai, from this passage, inferred that the Kiḷḷivaḷavan we are discussing was the King of Pugār during Maṇimāgalai's life. But Kiḷḷi and Vaḷavan are not names, meaning merely 'Śōḻa prince,' and the Kiḷḷi Vaḷavan of this passage has nothing to do with the one eulogized in the Puram odes, this latter being Lord of Uṟaiyūr and not Pugār.

It is to be expected that more and more Aryan ideas entered into the poems of the Tamil bards now. Ālattūr Kiḻār speaks of the special sin of harming Brāhmaṇas,[33] and refers to the ordinances of the Dharma Śāstra.[34]

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31 Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago. p. 77.

32 நாவலந் தீவிலிந் நங்கையை யொப்பார்
யாவரு மில்லை யிவடிற மெல்லாங்
கிள்ளி வளவனொடு கெழுதகை வேண்டிக்
கள்ளவிழ் தாரோய் கலத்தொடும் போகிக்
காவிரிப் படப்பை நன்னகர் புக்கேன்.
Maṇ. xxv. 11, 12 16.

33 பார்ப்பார் தப்பிய கொடுமை. Puṟ. 34. 1. 3.

34 அறம் பாடிற்றே, Ib. 1. 7

Notwithstanding the spread of the Aryan ideas in this Kiḷḷivaḷavan's time, he was himself not cremated but buried. His death was mourned by three poets of whom the last addresses the potter who was to make the urn in which the monarch was to be interred and tells him that to make a big urn fit for such a monarch, the earth (or the horizon) ought to be the wheel and the great mountain (interpreted as Mēru by the commentator), the clay.[35]

Perunaṛikiḷḷi :

The last celebrated king of this early Śōḷa dynasty about whom the Puṛam gives us information was called Perunaṛkiḷḷi. He had to defeat recalcitrant Śōḷa princes, before bringing the whole of the Śōla country under his sway. One such war is alluded in the following :— "King, whose ire resembled that of Murugan! you possess horses which run fast so that they can serve in wars and a shield (made of hide) of the colour of the cloud; you proceeded (against your foes) and shattered the front (of their armies). You plundered their rice-fields, you used the timber of their houses as firewood; washed your elephants in the moats round their forts; the light of the fire in which their land burned shone red like the shining sun. Your army limitlessly spread on their land. You achieved victory without the help of the armies of allies. Your sword stinks of flesh. The sandal-paste you have painted (on your breast) is

35 அன்னோற் கவிக்குங் கண்ணகின் றாழி
வனைதில் வேட்டனை யாயி யெனையதூஉ
யிருநிலந் திகிரியாப் பெருமலை
மண்ணா வனைத லொல்லுமோ நினக்கே.

Puṛ. 228. ll. 12-15.

dried up. You have burnt down the well-guarded valley where grow the intertwining convolvulus (vaḷḷai), the blown lily, the cool pagaṉṟai (Menispermum Cardifolium), the jack tree full of fruits and where the only jungle is that of the sugarcane; and your elephants are well-trained for fighting."[36]

He then performed the Rājasūya sacrifice and underwent coronation in the Aryan style. For this reason he was called Irāsasūyam Vēṭṭa Peru Naṛ Killi, and was, along with Karikāl, remembered as a remote ancestor

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[36] வினைமாட்சிய விரைபுரவியொடு
மழையுருவின தோல்பரப்பி
முனைமுருங்கத் தலைச்சென்றவர்
விளைவயல் கவர்பூட்டி
மனைமரம் விறகாகக்
கடிதுறைநீர்க் களிறுபடீஇ
யெல்லுப்பட விட்ட தடுதீவிளக்கஞ்
செல்சுடர் ஞாயிற்றுச் செக்கரின் றோன்றப்
புலங்கெட விறுக்கும் வரம்பி றானைத்
துணைவேண்டாச் செருவென்றிப்
புலவுவாட் புலர்சாந்தின்
முருகற் சீற்றத் துருகெழு குரிசின்
மயங்குவள்ளை மலராம்பற்
பனிப்பகன்றை கனிப்பாகற்
கரும்பல்லது காடறியாப்
பெருந்தண்பணை பாழாக
வேம நன்னா டொள்ளெரி யூட்டினை
நாம நல்லமர் செய்ய
வோராங்கு மலைந்தன பெருமநின் களிறே.

Puṛ. 16.

of the later Śōl̤as, those of Tanjore.[37] Apparently Peru Naṟ Kil̤l̤i was the only early Śōl̤a who celebrated the Rājasūya; hence he had the performance of it as his distinctive mark. This celebration also shows us that in his time the Aryanization in culture of the people of the Tamil land was fairly well advanced. This is further proved by the fact that in one of the odes in his praise, he is lauded for "pouring fully into the wet hands of begging Brāhmaṇas flower and gold along with water."[38] Another simile derived from Aryan institutions is found in the same poem, where three kings are addressed by the poet :—"You, Kings, who possess the white umbrella of royalty and the chariot on which the flag waves, are seated together so that you look like the triple fire of the twice-born."[39] The three kings here referred to, as we learn from the colophon, were the Śēran Mārivenkō, the Pāṇḍiyan Ukkirapperuval̤udi and Peru Naṟkil̤l̤i, all three being the latest kings of the early Tamil dynasties and not very far from the age when the Puṟam four hundred was collected into an anthology. There seems to have occured a political revolution after the age of these three kings which will be described in a later chapter.

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[37] Vide the Leyden grant and Tiruvālaṅgāḍu Inscription, also S. I. I. Vol. II part iii. These later inscriptions, however, confuse the order of sequence of these two early Śōl̤as.

[38] ஏற்ற பார்ப்பார்க் கீர்ங்கை நிறையப்
பூவும் பொன்னும் புனல்படச் சொரிந்து
Pur. 367-ll. 4-5

[3] முத்தீ புரைய காண்டக விருந்த
கொற்ற வெண்குடைக் கொடித்தேர் வேந்திர்.
Ib. ll. 13-14.

Besides the above kings, a dozen other Śōḻas are assigned poems by the writer of the colophon. These could not all have ruled over the Śōḻa country. As we hear that on one occasion nine Śōḻas joined together to fight with a tenth, we have to infer that princes of the Śōḻa dynasty who never ascended a throne, are referred to in the colophons.

CHAPTER XXIII

PANDIYA KINGS.

Mudu Kuḍumi Peru Vaḷudi:

The first Pāṇḍya King of whom we get information from these odes is Mudu Kuḍumi. He became famous for patronizing Yajñas celebrated by Brāhmaṇa sacrificers and so became famous as Palyāgaśālai, (the builder or patron of) many sacrificial halls. It need not be taken to mean 'the man that offered many vedic sacrifices' for to offer a vedic sacrifice, a king should first be affiliated to some Kṣattriya gotra and there is no evidence that the early Pāṇḍyas were thus fully and formally taken into the Aryan fold, and assigned a gotra. In Puṛam 15, it is said "many are the broad sacrificial halls where were performed great sacrifices in which famous fire-offerings and ghi were burnt in the fire for a long time in accordance with (the prescriptions of) the faultless book of the four Vedas and where sacrificial posts were planted."[1] In the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant[2] one yāga patronized by this Paṇḍiya king is referred to. This grant was issued probably in the third quarter of the

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[1] புரையி
னற்பனுவனல் வேதத்
தருஞ்சீர்த்திப் பெருங்கண்ணுறை
நெய்ம்மலி யாவுதி பொங்கப் பன்மாண்
வீயாச் சிறப்பின் வேள்விமுற்றி.
யூபநட்ட வியன் களம்

Puṛ. 15 ll. 16-21.

[2] Ep. Ind. XVIIi pp. 291 ff.

VIII century A. D., for the purpose of restoring a property given by Palyāga Mudukuḍumi and resumed by a Kaḷabhra king. The circumstances under which the gift was first made are thus narrated in the gift deed of the VIII century:—[3] 'Naṟkoṟṟan of Koṟkai, who never deviated from the path of Śruti as taught by the learned vedic scholars (who lived) in the well-watered land, full of rice-fields, called Pāganūrkūṟṟam, where beetles drone on the cool buds in the groves of flowering Nāga and Mango trees, started a yāga. For helping (him) to complete it, by the Pāṇḍyādhi-Rāja[4] Palyāga Mudukuḍumi Peruvaḷudi[5] who led many murderous elephants and dispersed the hosts of enemy-kings, it was said [to Naṟkkoṟṟan], 'Ask (for help) in the presence of Brāhmaṇas well-versed in the veda.' The king who wore garlands, stood in front of the sacrificial hall, and called the town by the name of Vēḷvikuḍi and caused to it to grow in prosperity and beauty; at that very moment he gifted it with libtions of water and it was enjoyed for a long time. Afterwards a cruel King called

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[3] The translation of the grant given in the Epigraphia Indica is very faulty. So I give my own translation.

[4] The title Adhiraja was assumed by Pāṇḍiya and other Tamil Kings after the completion of the Ariyanization of the Tamil country, after the close of the VI century. It is here given by the author of the inscription to the early Pāṇḍiya King, though the latter never used it himself.

[5] The word śālai has dropped out of the title of this King during the lapse of centuries.

Kaḷabhran drove away innumerable ādirājas[6] and took passession of the earth. He resumed the gift."[7]

Mudukuḍumi did not issue a copperplate grant along with his gift; for the engraving of gift-deeds on stone or copper was commenced not earlier than the VII century A. D. i.e., sometime after the Tamil country came completely under the influence of Aryan culture, and gifts to temples and to Brāhmaṇas became a regular institution. That is why no inscriptions are forth-coming to throw light on the history of the Tamil country up to 600 A. D. The circumstances under which Neḍuñjaḍaiyan regifted the village to a descendant

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[6] Probably 'original monarchs', descendants of those that had ruled the country for a long time before Kaḷabhran defeated them.

[7] கொல் யானை பலவோட்டிக் கூடாமன்னற்
குழாந்தவிர்த்து
பல்யாக முதுகுடுமிப் பெருவழுதி என்னும்
பாண்டியாதிராஜ
ஞகமா மலர்ச்சோலை நளிர்சினைமிசை வண்டலம்பும்
பாகனூர்க் கூற்றமென்றும் பழனக்கடக்கை நீர்நாட்டுச்
சொற்கண்ணாளர் சொலப்பட்ட ச்ருதிமார்க்கம்
பிழையாத
கொற்கைகிழானற்கொற்றன் கொண்டவேள்வி முற்றுவிக்க
கேள்வியந்தணாளர் முன்பு கேட்க என்றெடுத்துரைத்து
வேள்விசாலை முன்புநின்று வேள்விகுடி என்றபதியைச்
சீரோடு திருவளரச் செய்தார் வேந்தனப்பொழுதேய்
நீரோட்டிக் கொடுத்தமையா னீடுபுக்தி துய்த்தபின்
னளவரிய ஆதிராஜரை யகலநீக்கி யகலிடத்தைக்
களப்ரனென்னுங் கலி அரசன் கைக்கொண்டதனை
இறக்கியபின்.

of Narkorran, called Kāmakkāṇi Narcingan, this time accompanied not only with evanescent libations of water but an imperishable gift-deed engraved ou coppper plate were as follows:—"When the third year of his (i.e, Neḍuñjaḍaiyan's) reign was current, on one day, at Madura which possesses mansions and high ramparts, (some men) stood loudly complaining. The King invited them to his presence and was pleased to ask them 'what is your complaint?' They said. 'Oh, mighty lord of a powerful army, formerly, without swerving from the pure path, (the village) called Vēḷvikkuḍi included in Pāganūrkkūrram whose flowery groves touched the sky, was so named by your ancestor and granted on request by Palyāga Mudu Kuḍumip-peruvaḻudi, the Lord who protected the sea-girt (earth) with his invincible spearmen, and was resumed by the Kaḷabhras, who formed an ocean-like army.' The king gently smiled and said, 'Well, establish your ancient title before the public and get back the grant'. The complainant established his ancient title before the public. Thereupon the powerful King of long arms, with bow (in hand), was pleased to declare, 'what was granted by my ancestors according to rule is also granted by us.' So saying he who had many chariots and an ocean-like army gave it with libations of water."[8]

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[8] மற்றவன்றன் ராஜ்யவத்ஸரம் மூன்றாவது செலாநிற்ப
ஆங்கொரு நாள்
கூடமதிற் கூடற்பாடு நின்றவர் ஆரோதிக்கக்
கொற்றவனே மற்றவரைத் தெற்றென நன்குகூவி
என்னேய் நுங்குறை என்று முன்னாக பணித்தருள
மேனாணின் குரவராற் பான்முறையின் வழுவாமை
மாகந்தோய் மலர்ச்சோலைப்பாகனூர்க்கூற்றப்
படுத்துவது

It may be remarked in passing that Mudukuḍumi could not have lived much more than three centuries before Neḍuñjaḍaiyan, because he decided the question of the regrant on the oral testimony of his contemporaries.

In another Puṛam ode, the poet calls upon Mudukuḍumi to bow to Brāhmaṇas, knowers of the Vedas, who have lifted their hands to bless him with long life.[9] He also says that "the king's umbrella is

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ஆள்வதானை யடல்வேந்தே வேள்விகுடியெனும்
பெயருடையது
ஒல்காத வேற்றானை யோடாத வேலியுடன் காத்த
பல்யாக முதுகுடுமிப் பெருவழுதியெனும் பரமேசுரனுற்
வேள்விகுடி எனப்பட்டது கேள்வியிற்றரப்
பட்டதனைத்
துளக்கமிலாக் கடற்றானையாயகளப்பரரா விறக்கப்பட்
என்று நின்றவன் விஜ்ஞாப்யஞ் செய்ய [டது
நன்றுநன் றென்று முறுவலித்து
நாட்டானின் பழமையாதல்
காட்டி நீ (கொள்கவென்) ன
நாட்டாற்றன் பழமையாதல்
காட்டினனங் கப்பொழுதேய்
காட்ட, மேனுளெங் குரவராற் பன்முறை
யிற்றரப்பட்டதனை
எம்மாலுந் தரப்பட்டதென்று
செம்மாந்தவ னெடுத்தருளி
விற்கைத் தடக்கை விறல் வேந்தன்
கொற்கைகிழான் காமக்காணி நற்சிங்கர்க்குக்
தேரோடுங் கடற்றானைய னீரோட்டிக் (கொ)
டுத்தமையின்.

9 இறைஞ்சுகப் பெருமநின் சென்னி சிறந்த
நான்மறை முனிவ ரேந்து கை [illegible]திரே.
Pu. 6. ll. 19-20.

lowered only when circumambulating the temple of the three eyed god."[10] This is the earliest mention of the three-eyed god in Tamil literature, so far as I know.[11] This king's "fame is described as unceasingly terrifying (the denizens of) the triple world from below the earth which rests high on the waters (of the sea) to above the Goloka."[12] All these are Aryan ideas. Their occurence in this ode shows that since Karikāl's time the flood of Aryan culture was flowing very fast into the minds of the Tamils. Moreover, for the first time in Tamil literature appears in this ode, the concept of India forming one country with the Himalayas in the north, Comorin in the south and the two seas on the east and the west. The passage says that the fame of Mudukuḍumi spread to the north of (i. e., beyond) the high snowy mount in the North, to the south of the terrible Comorin in the south, to the east of the sea which was dug (by the Sagaras) and which beats on the east coast, and to the west of the old sea on the west."[13]

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10 பணியிய ரத்தைநின் குடையே முனிவர்
முக்கட் செல்வர் நகர்வலஞ் செயற்கே.
Puṛ. 6 ll. 17-18.

11 The next is found in Agam, 181, by Paraṇar, one of the latest of the early poets. "நான்மறை முது நூல் முக்கட் செல்வன்." l. 15.

12 முப்புணர டுக்கிய முறை முதற்கட்டி
னீர்நிலை நிவப்பின் கீழு மேல
தானிலை யுலகத் தானு மானா
துருவும் புகழ்.
Puṛ. 6 ll. 5-8.

13 வடாஅது பனிபடு நெடுவரை வடக்குந்
தெனாஅ துருகெழு குமரியின் றெற்குங்
குணாஅது கரைபொரு தொடுகடற் குணக்குங்
குடாஅது தொன்றுமுதிர் பௌவத்தின் குடக்கும்
Ib. ll. 1-4.

Besides his activities in patronizing the vedic cult Mudukuḍumi seems to have taken part in wars with rival chiefs. It is not claimed that he fought with any particular Śōḻa or Śēra king Possibly he defeated some petty chiefs; the poet says "you yoked rows of white-mouthed asses and ploughed the streets which had been indented by the fast-running chariots (of foes) and destroyed their broad forts. You drove your chariots through their territories; across their well known fertile fields where birds were chirping, jumped the hoofs of your noble horses whose manes were waving. In the well-guarded tanks of your foes were bathed your elephants which are moving this side and that side, have large necks, broad feet, angry eyes and bright tusks."[14] In the absence of the mention of any

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There are two other references to this idea in the Puṟam. The first belongs to the time of Neḍuñjeḻiyan, victor of Talaiyālaṅgānam. தென்குமரி வடபெருங்கல், 'Comorin to the south and the big mountain to the north,' Puṟ. 17, l. 1. The second refers to Peruṅgōkkiḷḷi, Kōpperuñjoḻan, a very late king, probably of the VI century. A swan is described as eating the ayirai-fish near the great port of Cape Comorin and going to the Northern mountain, taking the fair Śōḻa country between them on the way.

குமரியம் பெருந்துறை யயிரை மாந்தி
வடமலைப் பெயர்குவை யாயி னிடையது
சோழ நன்னாட்டுப் படினே.

Puṟ. 67. ll. 6-8.

14 கடுந்தேர் குழித்த ஞெள்ள லாங்கண்
வெள்வாய்க் கழுதைப் புல்லினம் பூட்டிப்
பாழ்செய் தனையவர் நனந்தலை நல்லெயில்
புள்ளின மிமிழும் புகழ்சால் விளைவயல்

definite battle that he won, the above has to be taken as a general praise of the king and no more.

The Victor of Talaiyālaṅgānam:

After this king died, ruled Neḍuñjeḷiyan who won the battle of Talaiyāṅgānam. He is also the hero of the longest of the Ten Songs, viz., Maduraikkāñji, and perhaps of a shorter piece in that anthology, Neḍu-nalvāḍai, besides being referred to in ten Puṟam odes, nine Agam odes, and a few more minor ones. The reason why so many poems about him are available is probably that he was the greatest Pṇḍiya king of this age. He ascended the throne of the Pāṇḍiyas when he was young and the contemporary Śōḻa and Śera kings (their names are not traceable) proceeded against him. They thought "we are famous we are great; our enemy is a young man; the spoils of victory will be immense."[15] Neḍuñjeḷiyan turned the invaders from Madura. As the poet says, "Śeḷiyan, the valiant fighter, whose elephant wore garlands of flowers and was besmeared with black pigment (on the forehead) attacked, in the battle-field near Madura, where festivals never

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வெள்ளுளைக் கலிமான் கவிகுளம் புகளத்
தேர்வழங் கினைநின் றெவ்வர் தேஎத்துத்
துளங்கியலாற் பணையெருத்திற்
பாவடியாற் செறனோக்கி
னொளிறு மறுப்பிற் களிறவர
காப்புடைய கயம்படியினை.

Puṟ. 15. ll. 1-10.

15 விழுமியம் பெரியம் யாமே நம்மிற்
பொருநனு மிளையன் கொண்டியும் பெரிது.

Puṟ. 78, ll. 5-6.

cease, and confounded the ocean-like army of the two great monarchs who jointly proceeded against him; their loud drums were lost and they were scattered in the four directions and they ran away, showing their backs."[16]

This is not a contemporary poem but one composed after Neduñjeḻiyan's time by Paraṇar who treats it as a remembered event and says that the noise of the Pāṇḍiya's battle was surpassed by the uproar created by the fact that an errant husband played in the freshes with a harlot.

This battle is described more vividly in a Puṟam ode. ' As if in the sky where stars shine bright the never-failing, terrible sun which moves dispelling the widespread darkness and possesses fierce heat, along with the shining moon entered together the same region, so the two monarchs who were very powerful in fight and had taken the vow (to defeat the Pāṇḍiya) entered the battle-field. You, Śeḻiya, attacked them wonderfully there so as to confound them and captured their well-bound drums. You defeated the warriors surrounding you and your spear escaped destruction. Then bright-faced women beat their breasts adorned by mammæ till they tingled, cried along ceaselessly, till they lost their senses, when they saw the drums which

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[16] மலர்தார்
மையணி யானை மறப்போர்ச் செழியன்
பொய்யா விழவிற் கூடற் பறந்தலை
யுடனியைந் தெழுந்த விருபெரு வேந்தர்
கடன்மருள் பெரும்படை கலங்கத் தாக்கி
யிரங்கிசை முரச மொழியப் பரந்தவ
ரோடுபுறங் கண்ட.

Agam. 116, ll. 12-18.

widowed them, so that their fair black locks which were like rows of black sand had to be cut.[17] After the battle, the victor pursued his enemies, who secured the help of five minor chiefs and stood at bay in the field of Talaiyālaṅgānam. The Pāṇḍiya defeated his seven enemies. The name of the five chiefs who were defeated in this battle along with the Śēran and the Śōḻan are given in Agam 36, an ode composed after the event. It says " Śeḷiyan, whose beflagged chariot was drawn by horses with trimmed manes, you reddened the wide field of Ālaṅgānam and destroyed the great might of the seven, namely, the Śērn, the Śembiyan (i.e., Śōḻan), the fierce Tidiyan, Eḻini who wore gold ornaments and possessed elephants trained to combat, the chief of Erumaiyūr where toddy is filtered by means of the web at the bottom of the palmyra leaf, Iruṅgōvēḷ on whose breast

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[17] மீன்றிகழ் விசும்பிற் பாயிரு ளகல
வீண்டுசெலன் மரபிற் றன்னியல் வழாஅ
துரவுச்சினந் திருகிய வுருகெழு ஞாயிறு
நிலவுத்திகழ் மதியமொடு நிலஞ்சேர்ந் தாஅங்
குடலரும் துப்பி னொன்றுமொழி வேந்தரை
யணங்கரும் பறந்தலை யுணங்கப் பண்ணிப்
பிணியுறு முரசங் கொண்ட காலை
நிலைதிரி பெறியத் திண்மடை கலங்கிச்
சிதைதலுய்ந் தன்றே நின்வேற் செழிய
முலைபொலி யாக முருப்ப நூறி
மெய்ம்மறந்து பட்ட வரையாப் பூச
லொண்ணுதன் மகளிர் கைம்மை கூர
வவிரறல் கடுக்கு மம்மென்
குவையிருங் கூந்தல் கொய்தல் கண்டே.

Puṟ. 25.

there is the dried up sandal paste emitting pleasant smell, and Porunan who rode in chariots."[18] He came thenceafter, to be known as 'Nēḍuñjeḻiyan who won the battle of Tiruvālaṅgānam'. The battle seems to have very much impressed the poets of the time, who referred to it frequently in similes. Thus Ālambēri Śattanār speaks of the vēl raised after the Śeḻiyan, strong of arm, possessed of the large chariot rolling on wheels. won the battle of Ālaṅgānam" [18]. Kallāḍanār, another member of the latest brilliant galaxy of early poets, says that gossip about the relations between a maiden and her lover caused a louder noise than "the roar of the battle of Ālaṅgānam when the Śeḻiyan, the lord of the Southern tribe, whose big chariot was adorned with gold, with his strong shoulder, like a pillar and with his moving chariot uttterly defeated seven

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[18] கொய்சுவற் புரவிக் கொடித்தேர்ச் செழிய
னாலங் கானத் தகன்றலை சிவப்பச்
சேரல் செம்பியன் சினங் கெழுதிதியன்
போர்வல் யானைப் பொலம்பூ ணெழினி
நாரரி நறவி னெருமை யூரன்
றேங்கம ழகலத்துப் புலர்ந்த சாந்தி
னிருங்கோ வேண்மானியறெர்ப் பொருநனென்
றெழுவர் நல்வலமடங்க வொருபகன
முரசொடு வெண்குடை யகப்படுத் துரைசெலக்
கொன்று களம் வேட்ட.

Agam. 36. ll. 13-22.

This, too, occurs in a simile like the ones noted above.

[18] காலிய னெடுந்தேர்க் கைவண் செழிய
னாலங் கானத் தமர்கடந்து யர்த்த
வேல். Agam. 175. ll. 10-12.

foes."[19] This battle is also described in Maduraikkāñji. There it is said that "he flew like the wind, spread fire so that the land was destroyed and encamped at Ālaṅgānam so as to terrify his enemies, killed the kings, won the battle, captured their drums and celebrated the victory."[20] This "oblation of victory" is described by Māṅguḍi Kiḻār in Puram 26:—"As the ship battered the wind on the deep (waters) of the big sea, the elephant made a broad way on the field of battle. In that broad path on the battle-field, you wielded a spear with the shinning blade, killed kings, confounded the army and earned fame by capturing their drums. You made a fire-place with crowned heads as hearth-stones, used the river of blood as water for cookIng, poured the flesh and brain (of your foes) into it, with your ankleted arms as spoon stirred and cooked the food and offered the oblation of of victory. You, Śeliya, killer of foes in battles, with learned Brāhmaṇas. full of restraint and versed in the four Vedas, as your courtiers, and Kings as your servants, performed other sacrifices and then grasped the spear.

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19 பொன்னணி நெடுந்தேர்த் தென்னர் கோமா
னெழுவுறழ் திணிதோ ளியறேர்ச் செழிய
னேரா வெழுவ ரடிப்படக் கடந்த
வாலங் கானத் தார்ப்பினும் பெரிது.

Agam. 209, ll. 306

20 காலென்னக் கடிதுராஅய்
நாடுகெட வெரிபரப்பி
யாலங்கானத் தஞ்சுவரவிறுத்
தரசுபட. வமருழக்கி
முரசுகொண்டு கடம்வேட்ட.

Maduraikkāñji, ll. 125-129.

Those that were famous as your enemies not being able to resist you have gone to the heaven (of heroes); may they live there."[21]

Puṟam 24 tells us that Neduñjeḻiyan annexed Miḻalaikkūṟṟam and Muttūṟṟukkūṟṟam.[22] "You victorious Śeḻiya, lord of the tall umbrellas and chariots bright with flags, you acquired Miḻalai which is full of sluice-heads where water is flowing and which belonged to Evvi, the powerful lord of Muttūṟu, belonging to the ancient lords who possess elephants decked with gold ornaments and heaps of rice where cranes sleep after eating the carps living in the rice fields.[23]

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[21] நளிகட லிருங்குட்டத்து
வளிபுடைத்த கலம்போலக்
களிறுசென்று களனகற்றவுங்
களனகற்றிய வியவாங்க
ணொளிறிலைய வெஃகேந்தி
யரசுபட வமருழக்கி
யுரைசெய முரசுவெளவி
முடித்தலை யடுப்பாகப்
புனற்குருதி யுலைக்கொளிஇத்
தொடித்தோட் டுடுப்பிற் றுழந்த வல்சியி
னடுகளம் வேட்ட வடுபோர்ச் செழிய
வான்ற கேள்வி யடங்கிய கொள்கை
நான்மறை முதல்வர் சுற்ற மாக
மன்ன ரேவல் செய்ய மன்னிய
வேள் விமுற்றிய வாய்வாள் வேந்தே
நோற்றோர் மன்றநின் பகைவர் நின்னொடு
மாற்றா ரென்றும் பெயர்பெற்
றாற்றா ராயினு மாண்டுவாழ் வோரே.

Puṟ. 26.

[22] The conquest of Muttūṟu, spelt by Aḍiyārkkunallār as Muttūr, is attributed by this commentator to a former Pāṇḍiya (Vide p. 242 ante). This is a legend and Neduñjeḻiyan's conquest is a fact testified to by a contemporary.

Maduraikkāñji supplements the information given by the other poems. Besides the above military exploits of Neḍñjeḷiyan's it refers to his capture of the town named after the paddy,[24] to his defeat of the people of the Kuṭṭanāḍu,[25] (part of the Śēra dominions), and to the seizure of the rich town of Muduveḷḷilai [26] and of Aḷumbil. [27]

In the poems regarding Neduñjeḷiyan may be noticed the fact that the Aryanization of the Madura country was proceeding apace. In one of the quotations already given (Puṛ. 26) it is said that the king performed sacrifices under the guidance of Brāhmaṇas who had mastered the vedic lore. There is a reference to the star under which a man is born and instead of 'may you live long' we have 'may your (birth) day star stand firm.'[28] This is probably an Aryan idea which had found its way south. The Maduraikkāñji which in its general structure is an imitation of Paṭṭinappālai describes Madura quite as extensively as the latter poem describes Kāvirippūmbaṭṭinam and likewise mentions the sacred places in the city.

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23 மாவே ளெவ்வி
புனலம் புதவின் மிழலையொடு கழனிக்
கயலார் நாரை போர்விற் சேக்கும்
பொன்னணி யானைத் தொன்முதிர் வேளிர்
குப்பை நெல்லின் முத்தூறு தந்த
கொற்ற நீள்கொடைக் கொடித்தேர்ச் செழிய.

Puṛ. 24. ll. 18-23.

24 சீர்சான்ற வுயர்நெல்லி
னூர்கொண்ட வுயர்கொற்றவ.

Maduraik. ll. 87-8.

This place is obviously Nellore, the outermost town and seaport of the Tamil land in former times. Naccinārkkiniyar prefers to take it as Sāliyūr, a Śōḻa port not far north of Madura. Neḍuñjeḻiyan captured it with the help of his navy.

The Āgama cults in Madura:

In Maduraikkāñji we get evidence of the rapid spread of the Āgama cults in the town of Madura. The poet describes "the evening worship, when musical instruments were sounded and unfailing rice-offerings were offered, after they were washed clean, to the gods with winkless eyes, surrounded by heavenly light, ornamented with fadeless flowers and deathless garlands, headed by the great wielder of the battle-axe (Śivan) who created the five elements, viz., water, earth, fire, wind and the sky.'[29] The description is too vague to enable us to identify the rite with any one current now. Probably

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25 பல்குட்டுவர் வெல்கோவே.

Maduraik. l. 105.

26 முதுவெள்ளிலை . . . தொழில்கேட்ப.

Ib. ll. 119-124.

27 அழும்பிலன்ன நாடிழிந்தனரும்.

Ib. 345.

28 நின்ற நிலைஇயர் நின்னாண்மீன்.

Puṛ. 24. l. 24.

29 நீரு நிலனுந் தீயும் வளியு
மாக விசும்போ டைந்துட னியற்றிய
மழுவா ணெடியோன் றலைவ னாக
மாசற விளங்கிய யாக்கையர் சூழ்சுடர்
வாடாப் பூவி னிமையா நாட்டத்து
நாற்ற வுணவி னுருகெழு பெரியோர்க்கு
மாற்றரு மரபி னுயர்பலி கொடுமா
ரந்தி விழவிற் றூரியங் கறங்க.

Maduraik. ll. 453-460.

the rites of worship were too fluid to resemble any of the clear-cut rituals of later days.

Besides this the worship of Viṣṇu too prevailed. "Beautiful young women, adorned with brilliant jewels, along with their dear husbands who protected them, and taking their bright children who were like the beautiful lotus flowers with plenty of pollen, all of them shining together, carried flowers and incense and worshipped in the temple of Him (Viṣṇu) who protects the world."[31]

The Vaidika cult was also practised by some. "They recited the Veda clearly; they performed the excellent rites belonging to it; they realised the unity of their self with that of the earth, and reached the high heaven-world while they were still here (in this world). Their loving minds did not deviate from the path of righteousness and led the lives of great men in the Brāhmaṇa houses on the hills."[32]

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31 திண்கதிர் மதாணி யொண்குறு மாக்களை
யோம்பினர்த் தழீஇத் தாம்புணர்ந்து முயங்கித்
தாதணித் தாமரைப் போதுபிடித் தாங்குத்
தாமு மவரு மோராங்கு விளங்கக்
காமர் கவினிய பேரிளம் பெண்டிர்
பூவினர் புகையினர் தொழுவனர் பழிச்சித்
சிறந்துபுறங் காக்குங் கடவுள் பள்ளியும்.

Ib. ll. 461-467.

32 சிறந்த வேதம் விளங்கப் பாடி
விழுச்சீ ரெய்திய வொழுக்கமொடு புணர்ந்து
நிலமமர் வையத் தொருதா மாகி
யுயர்நிலை யுலக மிவணின் றெய்து
மறநெறி பிழையா வன்புடை நெஞ்சிற்
பெரியோர் மேஎ யினிதி னுறையுங்
குன்றுதுயின் றன்ன வந்தணர் பள்ளியும்.

Ib. ll. 468-474.

The ascetics of the Jaina and Bauddha cults resided in gardens, and not in monasteries as in the next century. "They were worshipped by Śrāvakas (disciples) who took with them flowers with honey in them so as to attract bees and also incense. They understood the past and the future, as well as what occurred in the present and explained them to people They were sages who knew all about the heaven and the earth. These sages had unfading bodies, while yet they practised ascetic exercises, and were contented with all happenings. They carried in many-threaded loops small-mouthed pots looking as if they were cut out of stone. . . . They lived in gardens full of wonderful flowers[33]."

In the case of the four passages quoted above I totally differ from the commentator's interpretation.

As these Northern cults had not displaced or absorbed the ancient Tamil cults and as they had not secured much royal patronage, they existed side by side, without engaging themselves in the fierce war with each other as they did from the VII to the IX centuries.

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[33] வண்டுபடப் பழுநிய தேனார் தோற்றத்துப்
பூவும் புகையுஞ் சாவகர் பழிச்சச்
சென்ற காலமும் வருஉம மயமு
மின்றிவட் டோன்றிய வொழுக்கமொடு நன்குணர்ந்து
வானமு நிலனுந் தாமுழு துணருஞ்
சான்ற கொள்கைச் சாயா யாக்கை
யான்றடங் கறிஞர் செறிந்தனர் நோன்மார்
கல்பொளிந் தன்ன விட்டுவாய்க் கரண்டைப்
பல்புரிச் சிமிலி நாற்றி நல்குவர
. . . .
இறும்பூது சான்ற நறும்பூச் சேக்கையும்

Ib. ll. 475-483 and l. 487.

A description of Madura :

Sundaram Pillai condensed the greater part of the Maduraikkāñji into a description of Madura. Though vivid, it is not a fancy picture, but is based on the information contained in the poem. It was published in the Madras Christain College magazine for 1901 and is reproduced here. "We now reach the gateways, which are as high as the cloud-capped mountains, and which are secured by doors, blacked by frequent offerings of oil to the goddess guarding them. We elbow our way through the crowded gateways, flooded ceaselessly with passengers, as the Vaigai is with the freshes. The streets are......' broad as a river', and the houses, too, on either side...... 'are well-ventilated with many windows'. The streets are... ...the seats of endless traffic and eternal din, the different aspects of which, throughout the twenty four hours of the day. the poet stays now to recount.

"It was probably with the early dawn that we started towards the town from the Vaigai side, and we may, therefore, suppose that it was seven or so when we got to the streets. They are, however, by that time quite busy and full.

"The surging crowds move to and fro and in the confusion of tongues they create, we hear nothing but a roar, like 'the roar of the sea when lashed by the high winds.' The drumming, singing and dancing, in diverse quarters, would show, that pleasure is even more noisy than business. With our ears thus assailed on all sides, we resign ourselves to sight-seeing. What strikes us first is the forest of flags that obstructs our vision on every side. There float the figured pennons hung up for the periodic festivals. Here wave the victorious colours

presented to chieftains of war for special services rendered to the state. Here and there and everywhere over each liquor shop dance the merry streamers that betoken the unparalleled virtues of the beverage retailed by their owners. Each trade or guild seems again to have its own distinguishing flag. Recalling our wandering eyes then to what is closer to us, we observe that the crowd about us is made up of small concentric circles eddying round petty vendors of sweetmeats flowers, garlands, perfumes, betel, nuts, et hoc genus omne. But being a military station, the ordinary traffic of the streets is now and then suspended by the occasional appearance of the king's forces, elephants that break from their bondage, and rush from the royal stables into the streets, like vessels torn from their anchorage and driven into whirlpools by violent gales; chariots swift as winds, horses that march for camp exercises and military evolutions; and worst of all, fierce soldiers, 'drenched in toddy.' As these disturbing agents pass through the streets, the crowds run hither and thither, excited and terror-stricken, as if life itself was in danger; and it takes some time before peace is restored and the poor pedlars and petty dealers resume their seats under the shade of the lofty pile of buildings on either side of the streets. More enterprising, we note, are certain elderly women, who knowing the weakness of their sex move about from door to door, advertising their dainties and flowers, and so tempting the inmates of the inner chambers to effect easy purchases. Thus continues the traffic all through the day, incapable of any perceptible increase, or decrease, like the ocean, which remains ever full whether the cloud pours in or draws off its contents.

" But time flies all the same ; and as the day wears out the scene changes. In the declining hours of the evening there pass into the streets, either riding or driving, the chivalrous noblemen of the city, well guarded by their footmen. They are clad in red silk and flowing upper garments. Their swords hang by their sides, and on their breasts roll wreaths of undying fame. Being extremely wealthy, these gentlemen spend the hot hours of the day in agreeable society at home. Later, on the high terraces of their palatial residences, appear their ladies, like angels dropped from Heaven. Their perfumes spread fragrance through all the streets, and their happy faces, occasionally hidden by the waving banners hung up on their house tops, shine like the moon struggling under passing clouds.

" [Not far off are] the king's courts of justice, where equity is dealt out as dispassionately and impartially as in a pair of scales. Close by live the ministers of state, remarkable for their insight into what is good and evil, learned but humble, jealous of their reputation, and ever watchful of the cause of rectitude. Further on reside the merchant princes, who are celebrated alike for their scrupulous honesty and wealth and whose business embraces everything useful in the sea, mountain or land. The minor officers of the four divisions of the royal service viz., of the ecclesiastical, military, diplomatic and secret departments come next in order, and we finally reach the artizan classes, including workers on shells and pearls, gold and copper smiths, tailors, and clothiers, dealers in perfumes and flowers, and painters, who can bring out in colours, even subtle modes of movement. All these and others of the town having now come out for business or pleasure, there is scarcely

any elbow room in any of the streets, and we have, therefore, to stand heel to heel. To add to the deafenting noise produced by such a concourse of people there take place in every street grand feastings with such sumptous dainties as jack and mango fruits, sugar candies and tender greens, edible yams and far famed preparations of meat. The bustle of the evening then is not a whit less than what it was in the morning; and the whole scene presents the appearance of a seaport town, hurriedly loading and unloading a coasting vessel that stands already with its sails unfurled to steer out with the first ebb back into the main.

"The sun has now gone down and the moon is up: but our city still knows no rest The lighting of lamps is but the signal for the fair ladies of the town to prepare themselves for enjoyment. It is the time, likewise, when disreputable characters of both sexes come out and wander about the streets, some of them so drunk that they are unmindful of the sharp pricking nails, that are scattered in front of the elephants, when they turn wild and attack the mahouts that lead them. But more respectable classes of persons are also abroad. For instance, young women, who have but recently attained the honour of maternity are now taken to the tanks for ablutions, while others go out to meet them and to receive their blessings, in the hope of becoming equally fortunate. Later on the soothsayers of the Velan class gather in the houses of the sick, and propitiate in deafening songs the particular deities to whose ill will the diseases are discovered to be due. Each street has, besides, its merry dances and noisy pastimes.

"So passes the night till twelve, when, step by step, the dancing and singing parties decline in vigour. The petty traders now close their shops, by dropping their bamboo screens, and the poor dealers in sweetmeats sleep in front of their dainties. The actors and performers, likewise, retire to rest; and the town, like an exhausted sea is wrapt up in the silence of sleep. But like the sea again Madura knows no complete rest. For now that honest folks have gone to sleep, devils, human and superhuman, come out to work their mischief. But our poet is apparaently not a spiritualist, and he fails, therefore, to give us any further information of the superhuman or disembodied devils. With the human or the tangible portion of the class, he seems, on the other hand, to be perfectly familiar. He minutely describes to us the dress and accoutrements of the burglars of his days, which we cannot afford to reproduce. Besides weapons of offence and defence, these ruffians appear to have carried with them certain rope-ladders for scaling high walls and roofs of houses. But their equipments are of no avail since the alertness of the night patrols ever proves too much for them. If our poet's description of the police officers of his days can be believed, they must have been a wonderfully efficient and exemplary body. With sleepless eyes and fearless hearts they combine consummate cunning and complete knowledge of law. But it is their high sense of duty that is altogether surprising. 'Not even in the rainy nights, when the high streets overflow with water do they absent themselves from their trying posts of duty, or permit themselves a wink of sleep.' Watched over by such a constabulary it is no wonder that the city passes the night in careless profound slumber.

"But there are not many hours for such sweet respose. Long before dawn, we hear the brahmins reciting the vedas like so many humming bees on the surface of opening buds. The musicians are next heard tuning their instruments. The feminine dealers in dainties are now up and are plastering as usual the floors of their shops with cowdung. The toddy sellers are not a whit behindhand, and their confirmed customers are already making their way merrily towards their taverns. The screeching sound of the opening doors now declares that the city is fast shaking off its slumber and in the work of rousing even the sleepiest, the crowing cocks, the resonant drums, the song of birds, the caw of peacocks and the roar of elephants and tigers in the royal vivarium, all take part. The court-yards of the rich are then swept clean of the esteemed flowers of yesterday, which have become the dirt of today. With the early dawn the king's forces return from one or other of the many scenes of warfare, with such trophies as the following:—elephants, horses, ornate gates of the captured fortresses, and flocks of cattle lifted in the light of burning villages and driven thither by long spears improvised as goading sticks. Following the victerious forces come the conquered princes themselves to purchase peace from the king, as soon as he rises. To prevent us from taking this triumphal march of successful forces and suppliant princess as a mere accident of the particular morning of our visit, the poet adds that it is thus, day after day, the wealth of the world flows into the city, exactly as the Ganges empties herself into the sea. As the procession passes on, the sun rises up in the heavens, and Madura presents once more the scene of crowded

bustle and confusion, which we witnessed when we arrived in the city previous morning."[34]

Patronage of poets:

Neḍuñjeḻiyan was a great patron of poets, as so many ancient Tamil Kings were. He composed one ode himself, of eighteen lines, before he fought his famous battle. Therein he says, 'Those that deserve to be scorned by me have, without fear of my valour, spoken in derision of my land, called me a boy, and said that I do not possess tall elephants with bells ringing alternately on either side (when they walked) with their big legs, chariots, horses and warriors trained to fight. If I do not fight these fierce kings in a terrible fight and capture them and their drums, the people who live under the shade of my umbrella, not finding shelter, will shed tears and call me a worthless king, and I will deserve such reproach. Then may the poets, famous throughout the world, with the great scholar Māṅguḍi Marudan as their head, no more sing about me! May the people who are patronized by me be caused distress and I get the name of one who does not help the needy." [35]

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[34] Mad. Christ. Coll. Mag. 1901, pp. 120-124.

[35] நகுதக் கனரே நாடுமீக் கூறுந
ரிளைய னிவனென வுளையக் கூறிப்
படுமணி யிரட்டும் பாவடிப் பணைத்தா
ணெடுநல் யானையுந் தேரு மாவும்
படையமை மறவரு முடையம் யாமென்
றுறுதுப் பஞ்சா துடல்சினஞ் செருக்கிச்
சிறுசொற் சொல்லிய சினங்கெழு வேந்தரை
யருஞ்சமஞ் சிதையத் தாக்கு முரசமொ
டொருங்ககப் படேஎ னாயிற் பொருந்திய
வென்னிழல் வாழ்நர் சென்னிழற் காணாது

Incidentally it may be remarked that Neduñjeḻiyan's testimony to Māṅguḍi Marudanār's headship of his court poets shows that the later legend that Nakkīrar, author Neḍnalvāḍai, one of the Ten Songs, supposed to be sung in praise of this (Pāṇḍiya king) was the head of the Third Śaṅgam held in Madura. This legend was invented by the Śāivas, because Nakkīrar has sung about Śiva. It has been adopted by certain modern writers as a gospel truth, in defiance of Neḍuñjeḻiyan's own testimony.

The latest Pāṇḍiya King of the period:

The last monarch of this early Pāṇḍiya dynasty was Ukkirapperuvaḻudi, or Ugra Pāṇḍya. It has to be noticed that he was the only Pāṇḍiya, mentioned in the early Tamil literature, with a Sanskrit title. It is therefore not surprising to learn that he was the contemporary and friend of the only king of the early Śōḻa dynasty who had a Sanskrit word in his title, Irāśasūyam Vēṭṭa, one who celebrated the Rājasūya. The only martial exploit for which Ukkira Pāṇḍiyan was famous, was the capture of the fort of Kānapperēyil from Vēṅgai Mārban, a petty chief, and only one Puram ode[36] is addressed to him. Another ode (Puṟ. 367), by Auvaiyār, the famous poetess

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கொடியனெம்மிறை யெனக் கண்ணீர் பரப்பிக்
குடிபழி தூற்றுங் கோலே னாகுக
வோங்கிய சிறப்பி னுயர்ந்த கேள்வி
மாங்குடி மருதன் றலைவ னாக
வுலகமொடு நிலைஇய பலர்புகழ் சிறப்பிற்
புலவர் பாடாது வரைகவென் னிலவரை
புரப்போர் புன்கண் கூர
விரப்போர்க் கீயா வின்மையா னுறவே.

Puṟ. 72.

[36] Puṟ. 21.

and the latest of the early Tamil bards, was sung, according to the colophon, when Ukkira Pāṇḍiyan, Perunaṟkiḷḷi, and Māri Veṇkō, the Śēra chief, were seated together; the poem does not mention these names, but I think the information in the colophon, is trust worthy.

Tradition says that Ukkira Pāṇḍiyan ordered the collection of the Agam poems into an anthology, and this fits in with the information given by the commentator on Iṟaiyanār Agapporuḷ that with him the Third Śaṅgam ended. This does not mean that every poem in the Agam Four Hundred as we have it now, preceded Ukkira Pāṇḍiyan's time, The first tentative collection was made in his time, and the authology must have grown in later times, till the round figure of four hundred was reached. The mention by the commentator on Agapporuḷ of Ukkira Pāṇḍiyan as the last Pāṇḍiyan indicates that a catastrophe overtook the Tamil country which closed one great chapter of her great history; what this was will be discussed in a later chapter.

Besides the kings referred to in this chapter, the Puṟam colophons refer to some others, who possessed one or more of the following titles, Śeḻiyan, Pañjavan, Tennavan, Vaḻudi, Māṟan, Mīnavan, Kavuriyan, every one of which meant Pāṇḍiyan. It is not possible to discover how they were related to these kings. It is just possible that while the chief Pāṇḍiya king reigned at the capital, others ruled as petty chiefs. When the Pāṇḍiyas had been Aryanized, the legend rose that they belonged to the Lunar dynasty and that Arjuna's son by Citrāṅgadā, the Pāṇḍiya princes, succeeded to the throne after her father and then the Pāṇḍiyas became five at a time, like the Pāṇḍavas.

They were hence given the title of **Pañjavar.**[37] Probably to keep up the dignity of Pāṇḍava descent after it was invented, the Pāṇḍiya chiefs were counted as five, ruling at the same time, as it seems to have been done in the XIII century A. D.

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37 Thus the Pāṇḍya that died at Veḷḷiyambalam, was called பஞ்சவ ரேறு, 'the bull among the five,' in l. 8, of Pur. 58, a late ode.

CHAPTER XXIV.

ARYAN IDEAS IN AGAM AND PURAM.

Gods :

Gods :—Into the poems that were composed in the IV and V centuries A. D., slowly, very slowly entered chiefly by way of allusions Northern (Aryan) ideas, concepts, beliefs and superstitions. These are found mostly in the odes composed by the latest poets. The total number of such Aryan intrusions are very few when compared with the genuine Tamil ideas, customs and beliefs. I have gathered the former together in this chapter from the Agam and the Puṛam where they are chiefly found. Śivan is referred to once in the Agam and five times in the Puṛam. One reference is to His helping the Devas to victory by shooting the three forts (of the Asuras) with a single arrow, having a serpent as the bow-string and the hill as the bow, and He is described as blue-throated, wearing the cresent on his fair head and with an eye shining on his forehead.[1] The other references are only short phrases allu-

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[1] ஓங்குமலைப் பெருவிற் பாம்பு ஞாண் கொளீஇ
ஒருகணை கொண்டு மூவெயி லுடற்றிப்
பெருவிற லமரர்க்கு வென்றி தந்த
கறைமிடற் றண்ணல் காமர் சென்னிப்
பிறைநுதல் விளங்கு மொருகண் போல.

Puṛ. 55 ll. 1-5.

[2] முக்கட் செல்வர்

[3] நீணிமிர் சடை Ib. 6. l. 18.

ding to his three eye[2], his matted locks,[3] his blue throat and the crescent moon on his head[4]. One passage, in the Agam, refers to the three-eyed Śivan.[5] In one stanza of Puṟam, Śiva, Balarāma, Kṛṣṇa and Subrahmaṇya are described. "He who is riding on a strong bull, has matted locks blazing like fire, the invincible battle-axe, and a throat like the blue gem, and He whose body is of the colour of the chank from the sea, and who weilds the death-desiring plough and has the palmyra flag, and He whose body is of the colour of the well-washed sappire and who raises aloft to the sky the bird-flag and desires victory, and He who holds up the gem-like

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முது முதல்வன். Ib. 166. ll. 1-2.

'The Ancient Lord of long, stiff matted locks.'

4 பால்புரை பிறைநுதற் பொலிந்த சென்னி
நீல மணிமிடற் றொருவன்.

Ib. 91. ll. 5-6.

'He who has a head shining with the milk-like cresent moon and a throat like sapphire.'

5 ஞாலநாறு நலங்கெழு நல்லிசை
நான்மறை முதுநூல் முக்கட் செல்வ
னால முற்றங்கவின் பெறத் தைஇ.

Agam. 181. ll. 15-18.

'The three-eyed Lord whom the sweet-toned four Vedas which spread good to the world (sing about), embellished beautifully the yard where the banyan tree goes.'

In Puṟ. 198, l. 9, occurs the phrase ஆலமர் கடவுள் the god in the banyan tree.' The commentator has interpreted this phrase as 'Viṣṇu on the banyan leaf;' I think this explanation is anachronistic, for the phrase is a common epithet only of Śivan in early Tamil literature.

peacock flag, who is always victorious, rides the peacock (or the elephant) and is bright red."[6] Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva are referred to in one more place, where a Śōḻa and a Pāṇḍiya are together praised as looking like these two gods.[7] There are two other references to Kṛṣṇa, one where a Pāṇḍiya is described as full of fame, like Māyōn, famous for his powers of teaching.[8] An incident in the life of Kṛṣṇa is described also in Puṟam. "When the terrible asuras swarmed and concealed the sun who shone in the sky and he disappeared, (men) could not see on account of darkness. To relieve the distress of the round world, the collyrium coloured one of great strength brought (the sun) back and raised (him in the sky)."[9] One stanza in

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6 ஏற்றுவல னுயரிய வெரிமரு ளவிர்சடை
மாற்றருங் கணிச்சி மணிமிடற் றோனுங்
கடல்வளர் புரிவளை புரையு மேனி
யடல்வெந் நாஞ்சிற் பனைக்கொடி யோனு
மண்ணுறு திருமணி புரையு மேனி
விண்ணுயர் புட்கொடி விறல்வெய் யோனு
மணிமயி லுயரிய மாறா வென்றிப்
பிணிமுக வூர்தி யொண்செய் யோனும்
Puṟ 56 ll. 1-8.

7 பானிற வுருவிற் பனைக்கொடி யோனு
நீனிற வுருவி னேமி யோனும். Puṟ. 58. ll. 14-15.

8 மாயோ னன்ன
வுரைசால் சிறப்பிற் புகழ். Puṟ. 57 ll. 2-3.

9 அணங்குடை யவுணர் கணங்கொண் டொளித்தெனச்
சேண்விளங்கு சிறப்பின் ஞாயிறு காணா
திருள்கண் கெடுத்த பரிதி ஞாலத்
திடும்பைகொள் பருவர றிரக் கடுந்திற
லஞ்சன வண்ணன் றந்து நிறுத்தாங்கு.
Puṟ. 174. ll. 1-5.

Agam refers to Māl's bending the branches of the tree, that the cowherdesses may wear the cool leaves for cloth.[10] Paraśurāma is alluded to once in Agam. This will be referred to latter. There is one more reference to Kṛṣṇa in Agam. "Like the garland on the wide, all-conquering breast of the wielder of the discus whose bright spokes are well-arranged, was the rain-bow.[11]

Rāma is alluded to once in Puṟam and once in Agam. In the former poem it is said that monkeys picked up Sītā's ornaments which she dropped when Rāvaṇa carried her in his aerial car, and wore them topsy-turvey.[12] In Agam, the following simile occurs. "As was silenced the banyan tree with many aerial roots

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10 அண்டர் மகளிர் தண்டழை யுடீஇர்
மரஞ்செல மிதித்த மாஅல் போல.

Agam. 59 ll. 5-6.

The original of this tale is not found in Sanskrit so far as I know and perhaps it is not an Aryan legend of Kṛṣṇa but a Tamil legend of Māyōn.

In modern versions the story is somewhat altered. The ladies desire to wear their own clothes stolen by Kṛṣṇa.

11 நேர்கதிர் நிரைத்த நேமியஞ் செல்வன்
போரடங் ககலம் பொருந்தி தார்போற்
றிருவில்.

Agam. 175 ll. 14-16.

12 கடுந்தே ரிராம னுடன்புணர் சீதையை
வலித்தகை யரக்கன் வௌவிய ஞான்றை
நிலஞ்சேர் மதரணி கண்ட குரங்கின்
செம்முகப் பெருங்கிளை யிழைப்பொலிந் தாஅங்கு.

Pur. 378 ll. 18-21.

(the sound of whose birds disturbed) the thoughts of victorious Rāma, near the shore of the roaring ocean at the ancient Kōḍi (Dhanuṣkōḍi), which belongs to the Pāṇḍiyas of the conquering spear.[13]

Svarga:

To turn from Ārya legends to Ārya beliefs which had begun to gain a foothold at last in Tamil India. The world of the Devas of the Aryas is noticed in a few passages. The Devas are "the denizens of the fair world where there are forests of gold flowers."[14] Svarga is called "the world of the Gods," "the world to which people go rarely," "the world of the high," "the world of the Gods,' "the world of the superiors."[15] It is also

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"As the jewels sparkled on the red-faced relations of the monkey that saw the bright ornaments dropped on the ground by Sītā, the wife of Rāma of the strong car, when she was forcibly carried away by the powerful Rāksasa".

[13] வென்வேற் கவுரியர் தொன்முது கோடி
முழங்கிரும் பௌவ மிரங்கு முன்றுறை
வெல்போ ரிராம னருமறைக் கவித்த
பல்வீ ழாலம் போல. Agam. 70 ll. 13-16.

This story of the silencing of the birds nesting in the banyan tree, like that of the monkeys wearing Sita's jewels topsy-turvy, is unknown to Sanskrit literature. The Paṇḍiyas are called kavuriyar perhaps because they worshipped Gauri i.e., Mīnākṣi.

[14] பொலம்பூங் காவி னன்னாட் டோரும். Puṛ. 38, l. 12.

[15] புத்தேளுலகம் Pur. 22, l. 35, அரிசெலுலகு, Ib. 260 l. 21, உயர்ந்தோருலகு Ib. 176 l. 20 தேவருலகம், Ib. 228 l. 11, மேலோருலகம். Ib. 229 l. 22.

called the highest of the worlds. "The triple world of which the lowest is that which rests on water and the highest where the cow stands (i.e. goloka)."[16] It is again described as "the world, very difficult to attain, which contains flowers that never fade, (gods with) eyes that do not wink, and sweet-smelling foods."[17] "Being carried away by the winkless (God) called Kāla, he reached the land of the superior persons."[18]

Karma :

The law of karma, by which the results of good deeds in this life are reaped in the one after death is stated in one passage.[19] In another passage the question of the enjoyments of the fruit of one's deeds either in the next world or in in the next rebirth in this world is spoken of as a disputed point.[20] This poem was

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முப்புண ரடுக்கிய முறைமுதற் கட்டி
னீர்நிலை நிவப்பின் கீழுமேல
தானிலை யுலகத்தானும்.

Pur. 6, ll. 5-7.

17 வாடாப் பூவி னிமையா நாட்டத்து
நாற்ற வுணவி னோரு மாற்ற
வரும்பெற லுலகம். Pur. 62 ll 16-18.

18 கால னெனுங் கண்ணிலி யுய்ப்ப
மேலோ ருலக மெய்தினன். Pur. 240 ll. 5-6.

19 ஈண்டுச் செய் நல்வினை யாண்டுச்சென் றுணீஇயர்.

Pur. 214, ll. 6—13.

20 உயர்ந்த வேட்டத் துயர்ந்திசி னோர்க்குச்
செய்வினை மருங்கி னெய்த லுண்டெனிற்
றொய்யா வுலகத்து நுகர்ச்சியுங் கூடுந்
தொய்யா வுலகத்து நுகர்ச்சி யில்லெனின்

sung by Kōpperuñjōḻan, when he "sat north", i. e. retired to a cave, where he dwelt till he died. The doctrine of rebirth mentioned in the last passage occurs in another, which says, "as in this birth (we delighted in each other's company,) so let my destiny make me see you constantly in my next birth and dwell with you.'[21] One other passage has been interpreted to mean "Let those who know the nature of the world do good deeds so that they may obtain release;" but the proper meaning of the passage seems to be "Let those who know the nature of the world take its pains as pleasure."[22]

மாறிப் பிறப்பி னின்மையுங் கூடு
மாறிப் பிறவா ராயினு மிமயத்துக்
கோடுயர்ந் தன்ன தம்மிசை நட்டுத்
தீதில் யாக்கையொடு மாய்தறவத் தலையே.

Puṟ. 214, ll. 6-13.

'In the case of the superior persons who are inspired by higher desires if you admit that they experience the fruit of their deeds they may enjoy pleasures in the next world. If they do not enjoy them in the next world they will attain joys in the next re-birth; if even that is not admitted, it is an excellent thing to die after having planted one's good name as high as the lofty Himalayas.'

21 இம்மை போலக் காட்டி யும்மை
யிடையில் காட்சி நின்ரே
ருடனுறை வாக்குக வுயர்ந்த பாலே,

Puṟ. 236 ll. 10-12.

It may be pointed out that immai, ummai, and pāl are used and not the corresponding Sanskrit terms as in later times.

Vedic Sacrifices:

The patronage of yajñas by the Tamil Rājas of the V century A. D. has been described in two preceding chapters, and need not be repeated here. The last ode of Puṛam refers to the yūpas in Nalaṅgiḷḷi's territory.[23] The land of the minor chief Kāri is also described as abounding in Brāhmaṇas who maintain the sacrificial fire.[24] I have noticed a simile from the yajña in a very late Puṛam ode, and that is, "the white royal umberlla was beautifully bright like the triple fire of Brāhmaṇas."[25] Though the Tamil kings of the V century A. D. thus patronized Vedic sacrifices, it may be pointed out in the very odes that celebrate the patronage of Vedic sacrifices by the Tamil Rājas, their terrible martial exploits and their plying bards and harlots with meat and drink are also described. Thus the Pāṇḍiya of many sacrificial halls "destroyed the streets with ploughs to which rows of white-mouthed donkeys were yoked."[26] The poem that describes Karikāl's yajña also says that "he destroyed many forts in war and along with his

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[23] இன்னா தம்மவிவ் வுலக
மினிய காண்கித னியல்புணர்ந் தோரே.

Puṛ. 194. ll. 6-7.

[24] Puṛ. 400. l. 19., not quoted, the text being imperfect.

நின்னாடே
யழற்புறத் தரூஉ மந்தண ரதுவே,

Puṛ. 122, ll. 2-3.

companions drank up many potfuls of liquor."[27] This shows that their patronage of Aryan rites did not bring about a wrench from their old Tamil traditions.

In the companion anthology to the Puṟam, i. e., the Agam, there is no reference to Vedic sacrifices patronized by Tamil Rājas, but that performed by Paraśurāma is described. One of the many similes which occur in the odes of this collection says, "Like the long pole (yūpa) well-guarded, beautiful to see, and tied with rope round its middle, at which (the incarnation of Viṣṇu who wielded the battle-axe and destroyed the Kṣatriya dynasties, performed the yāga with great effort."[28]

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25 இருபிறப்பாளர்
மூத்தீப் புரைய காண்டக விருந்த
கொற்ற வெண்குடை. Puṟ. 367. ll. 12-14.

26 வெள்வாய்க் கழுதைப் புல்லினம் பூட்டி
பாழ்செய்தனை.
Puṟ 15. ll. 2-3.

27 அருப்பம் பேணா தமர்கடந்ததூடங்
துணைபுண ராயமொடு தசும்புடன் றொலைச்சி.
Ib. 224. ll. 1-2.

28 மன்மருங் கறுத்த மழுவா ணெடியோன்
முன்முயன் றரிதினின் முடித்த வேள்விக்
கயிறரை யாத்த காண்டகு வனப்பி
னருங்கடி நெடுந்தூண் போல. Agam. 220, ll. 5-8.
The first line occurs unaltered as Maṇ. xxii. l. 25.

Brāhmaṇas:

In Agam is mentioned the Brāhmaṇa who has not performed yāgas (veḷāppārppān).[29] This is the first mention in Tamil literature of the back-sliding Brāhmaṇa, devoted to secular occupations, who since the rise of the Āgama forms of worship became very common.

On the contrary, the Brāhmaṇas devoted to Vedic sacrifices were highly praised. One instance is the description of a person as "descended from learned men famous for having duly performed the twenty one parts of the Yāga, who taught the truth and rejected as false the heresies simulating correct doctrines, for the purpose of checking the growth of people who strayed from the ancient four vedas with their six (aṅgeas) which teach the one truth and which are always on the lips of the ancient (Śivan) whose matted locks are long."[30]

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29 வேளாப் பார்ப்பான். Agam, 24. l. 1.

The commentator explains this as யாகம்பண்ணாத ஊர்ப்பார்ப்பான், 'the lay Brāhmaṇa, who does not perform sacrifices', and adds that such men were engaged in chank-cutting.

30 நன்றாய்ந்த நீணிமிர்சடை
முதுமுதல்வன் வாய்போகா
தொன்றுபுரிந்த வீரிரண்டி
னாறுணர்ந்த வொருமுதுநூ
விகல் கண்டோர் மிகல்சாய்மார்
மெய்யன்ன பொய்யுணர்ந்து
பொய்யோராது மெய்கொளீஇ
மூவேழ் துறையு முட்டின்று போகிய
உரைசால் சிறப்பி னுரவோர் மருக.

Puṟ. 166. ll. 1-9.

Agam 181. ll. 15-16 already quoted and translated also refer to Śivan's reciting the Vedas. Those who strayed from the path of the Vedas is a reference to the Bauddhas and the Jainas, the only reference to them in the early anthologies. These heretics lived in caves far from cities and, when in the VI and VII centuries A.D., they secured the patronage of kings and made them into lay disciples, commenced the fierce quarrels between them on the one hand and the Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas on the other, which are so frequently mentioned in the Tamil hymns to Śivan and Viṣṇu composed from 600 A.D., to 900 A.D. The references to the Vedic Yajña are thus very few in Agam and Puṟam: and that the poems and the kings who patronized them must have lived at the very end of the period we are considering can be seen from the fact that the Tolkāppiyam, though it tries to impose the Aryan four Varṇas on the Tamil population and though it refers to the six-fold functions of the Brāhmaṇas and five-fold functions of kings prescribed in the Aryan Dharma Sūtras, yet does not specify the Vedic sacrifices of Tamil kings.[31] The reason is that the Tolkāppiyam is based on the Tamil poems existing in the age of the author and those poems did not refer to Vedic yajñas because the kings had not yet taken kindly to Aryan practices. It surely must have taken some time for these practices to enter into Tamil life.

Cremation:

One of the customs which evolved in Northern India as the result of the development of the Vedic

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[31] In Por. 76 he speaks only of Tamil victory rites.

fire-cult was that of cremation. The underlying principle of that cult is that all offerings to one or more of the gods ought to be poured into the newly lighted fire, for Agni is the mouth (mukha) of the Gods. The offerings were derived from the animals killed for the occasion, called medha. The greatest medha, greater than the horse, was man. Hence the dead man was conceived as a fit offering for the Gods and became sanctified, as all sacrificial victims were, by being offered to the Gods through fire. On this account wherever the fire-cult spread, there too the custom of cremation was adopted. Before this custom arose, the dead were exposed either wholly or after being cut into various slices (probably to allow of the body being rapidly eaten up by birds of prey), or buried in the ground often within burial urns. The families that accepted the sanctity of the fire-cult took to cremation in South India. So, too, several hundred years earlier, a very degenerated form of the Vedic fire-cult reached Ancient Greece and Ancient Rome and cremation followed in its wake. The custom of cremation spread slowly in Southern India, where the section of the people who have persisted in remaining outside the Aryan cults still practice burial.[32] The following are the only references to cremation in Puṛam. " The bright fire of the funeral pile of black fuel chopped from the garden after it was

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32 Sanyāsīs are buried, not burnt. This may be because as they led a life of special holiness, their bodies would be desecrated by being offered to the Gods (who in status are not superior to the Sanyāsīs) or because burial being the older custom was reserved for them.

burnt by Kuṛavas."[33] "The owl with the split mouth from the bole in the tree cried to the dead man, '(your body) be burnt and (the ashes) be heaped up;' he rested on the side of the burning ground in the yard behind the house where the tree-spurge grows; and his body was burnt down by the bright fire."[34] "She was placed on a bed of bright fire proceeding from the funeral pyre made of firewood placed in an open space in the back-yard where the tree-spurge grows."[35] "The funeral pile made of black fire-wood in the back-yard."[36] "Gone as the lord of the burning ground."[37]

Burial:

Side by side with cremation the older custom of burial continued. Cremation is mentioned, in the passages above cited, only in connection with kings and

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[33] எறிபுனக் குறவன் குறைய லன்ன
கரிபுற விறகி னீம வொள்ளழல்.

Puṛ. 231. ll. 1-2.

[34] பொத்த வரையுட் போழ்வாய்க் கூகை
சுட்டுக் குவியெனச் செத்தோர்ப் பயிருங்
கள்ளியம் பறந்தலை யொருசிறை யல்கி
யொள்ளெரி நைப்ப வுடம்பு மாய்ந்தது.

Puṛ. 240. ll. 7-10.

[35] கள்ளி போகிய களரியம் பறந்தலை
வெள்ளிடைப் பொத்திய விளைவிற கிமத்
தொள்ளழற் பள்ளிப் பாயல் சேர்த்தி.

Puṛ. 245. ll. 3-5.

[36] பெருங்காட்டுப் பண்ணிய கருங்கோட் டீமம்.

Puṛ. 246, l. 11.

[37] சுடுபிணக்
காடுபதி யாகப் போகி.

Puṛ ll. 363, 4-5.

nobles. The ordinary poor were buried in the ground and the higher classes in burial urns.[38] Apparently it was a matter of choice whether kings were to be buried or burnt; for the poet Aiyūr Muḍavanār asks a potter, after the death of Killivaḷavan who died at Kuḷamuṟṟam, "If you desire to make a broad-mouthed urn for burying him, how will it be possible for you to use the circle round the wide earth (horizon?) as your wheel and the great mountain (mēru) as the clay."[39] The references to cremation in Puṟam are really very few, but the commentator makes the reader imagine that they are very many by invariably explaining the words īmam and kāḍu as śuḍukāḍu, the burning ground. Kāḍu is a place behind the house where the vegetation is allowed to run wild, and is either śuḍukāḍu or iḍukāḍu, the burning ground or the grave-yard. As cremation is in modern times practically universal, wherever kāḍu is mentioned it is interpreted by the commentator as the burning ground. This is clearly wrong as the context shows. Thus in "the broad thorny backyard (kāḍu), whose soil is brackish and where the tree-spurge

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[38] வியன்மல ரகன்பொழி லீமத் தாழி
யகலி தாக வனைமோ.

Puṟ. 256. ll. 5-6.

'Make the burial urn (ஈமத்தாழி) broad, (to be buried) in the earth which stretches wide.'

[39] அன்னோற் கவிக்குங் கண்ணகன் றாழி
வனைதல் வேட்டனை யாயி னெனையதூஉ
மிருநிலந் திகிரியாப் பெருமலை
மண்ணா வனைத லொல்லுமே நினக்கே.

Puṟ. 228. ll. 12-15.

grows,"[40] "the kāḍu where the red-eared eagle-cock and the Poguval sit without fear on the round side of the red round burial urn and the strong-mouthed crow and the hooting owl along with devils fly as they like,"[41] "wild vegetation has spread; the tree-spurge has grown; even in the day time, with the hooting owl and the demonesses that resort to the cemetry-lamp, this dewy graveyard looks terrible", kāḍu is the graveyard.[42]

Puṟam 359 contains the last remaining reference to the grave-yard, which it calls "the yard, whose surface has been rendered bleak by the vulture descending on its many pathways crossing each other, and wherefrom go away the cruel-mouthed owl which cries in different tones, and jackals which eat carrion, and where in front of the lamps burning on graves, many demonesses, whose teeth are stained with the flesh of corpses, grasp the bodies of the dead, eat the white flesh till they reek with the smell of rotting carrion and dance on the desolate-looking field."[43] In all these passages, it may again be pointed out that the commentators invariably explain kāḍu as śuḍukāḍu, crematorium,

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[40] கள்ளி போகிய களரியம் பறந்தலை
முள்ளுடை வியன்காட் டதுவே.

Puṟ. 225. ll. 7-8.

[41] கவிசெந் தாழிக் குவிபுறத் திருந்த
செவிசெஞ் சேவலும் பொகுவலும் வெருவா
வாய்வன் காக்கையுங் கூகையுங் கூடிப்
பேஎ யாயமொடு பெட்டாங்கு வழங்குங்
காடு.

Puṟ. 238. ll. 1-5.

whereas from the context it is plain that iḍukāḍu, grave-yard is meant. This is because they do not realize that the old pre-Aryan way of disposal of the dead was by burial and that cremation was introduced by the followers of the fire-cult, when Aryan influence began to dominate the minds of the Tamils.

The after-funeral rites of this period do not seem to have been much influenced by Ārya ceremonies, though the passages dealing with them have been misinterpreted as such. Thus the widow, who was dear (to the dead one) made a small mound of the size of the foot-step of a female elephant and placed on grass a small ball of sweet rice"[44] for the dead person. This has been

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[42] களரி பரந்து கள்ளி போகிப்
பகலுங் கூவுங் கூகையொடு பிறழ்வா
வீம விளக்கிற் பேஎய் மகளிரொ
டஞ்சுவந் தன்றியும் மஞ்சுபடு முதுகாடு

Puṛ. 356. ll. 1-4.

[43] பாறுபடப் பறைந்த பன்மாறு மருங்கின்
வேறுபடு குரல வெவ்வாய்க் கூகையொடு
பிணந்தின் குறுநரி நிணந்திகழ் பல்ல
பேஎய் மகளிர் பிணந்தழூஉப் பற்றி
விளருன் றின்ற வெம்புலான் மெய்யர்
களரி மருங்கிற கால்பெயர்த் தாடி
யீம விளக்கின் வெருவரப் பேருங்
காடு.

Puṛ. 359 ll. 1-8.

[44] பிடியடி யன்ன சிறுவழி மெழுகித்
தன்னமர் காதலி புன்மேல் வைத்த
வின்சிறு பிண்டம்.

Puṛ. 234. ll. 2-4.

interpreted as an Aryan rite, the grass being explained as darbha grass. This cannot be; for in the Aryan rite, the heir, and not the widow, offers piṇḍa. Another passage shows that this was an old Tamil rite. It says, "After leaning the hearse (against a tree or a wall), liquor and cooked rice were placed on grass, and in accordance with the commands of the pulaiya, the desired food on the grass was eaten and (the dead person) entered fire."[45] In another ode it is said that the wife of the deceased person whose eyes were unceasingly weeping prepared a bit of ground as small as a small winnowing fan and washed it with cow-dung mixed with her tears for offering him food thereon.[46] In another passage, it is said that "in the broad backyard filled with tree-spurge and thorny shrubs, the hearse was placed and (she) received rice boiled without salt from a low caste person, and without looking back (placed) it on the ground.[47] From this it is clear that though the

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[45] வெள்ளி னிறுத்த பின்றைக் கள்ளொடு
புல்லகத் திட்ட சில்லவிழ் வல்சி
புலைய னேவப் புன்மே லமர்ந்துண்
டழல் வாய்ப் புக்க.

Pur̥. 360 ll. 17-20.

[46] சுளகிற் சீறிட நீக்கி
யழுத லானாக் கண்ணள்
மெழுகு மாப்பிகண் கலுழ்நீ ரானே.

Pur̥. 249, 12-14.

[47] கள்ளி வேய்ந்த முள்ளியம் புறங்காட்டு
வெள்ளில் போகிய வியலு ளாங்க
ணுப்பிலாஅ வவிப்புழுக்கல்
கைக்கொண்டு பிறக்கு நோக்கா
திழிபி றப்பினோ னீயப்பெற்று
நிலங்கல னாக விலங்குபலி.

Pur̥. 363, ll. 10-14.

Aryan custom of cremating the dead was adopted in a few cases, the ordinary funeral ceremonies were the old Tamil ones, though the commentators would make it out to be otherwise.

A curious custom:

One curious custom is described in the ode to Adiyamān Neḍumān Añji, composed by the famous poetess Auvaiyār. "When an ignoble king runs away from the battle-field and dies (a natural death) from disease, men of the highest caste, who are learned in the Vedas and desire Dharma, embrace his corpse and, forgetting their love (to the dead man), and in order to remove the evil of the wrong action (in running away from the enemy's sword), spread the green grass full of power, place (the corpse on it), and say, 'mayst thou go the way by which went the brave warriors who wore the long bracelet of bravery and fell in the battle-field, clinging to their heroism,' and cut it with the sword and buried it."[48] This same custom is mentioned in the Maṇimēgalai, where Vaśandavai, the grey-haired preceptress of the king, the princesses and the ladies belonging to the palace, tells the Śōḻa queen, "It is such a disgraceful thing, that my tongue cannot utter it, for a scion of this (Śōḻa dynasty) to die of old age and to be placed on the darbha, cut with a sword and told to

[48] ஓடன் மரீஇய பீடின் மன்னர்
நோய்ப்பால் விளிந்த யாக்கை தழீஇக்
காதன் மறந்தவர் தீதுமருங் கறுமா
ரறம்புரி பசும்புற் பரப்பினர் கிடப்பி
மறங்கந் தாக நல்லமர் வீழ்ந்த
நீள்கழன் மறவர் செல்வழிச் செல்கென
வாள்போழ்ந் தடக்கலும். Puṟ. 93. ll. 4-11.

go the way of kings who have performed the royal duty of protecting their subjects, and, conquering the territory of longstanding enemies, died in the battle-field."[49] It may be pointed out that Auvaiyār calls this a general custom and she may have seen it practised; whereas Śāttanar, the author of Maṇimēgalai, makes it a peculiar custom of the Śōḻa family and probably refers to it from hearsay. Moreover Auvaiyār follows the old practice of Tamil authors and avoids the Sanskrit word darbha and uses the Tamil word pul, probably because any grass was used for the purpose. But Śāttanār uses taruppai; this shows that he belongs to a later age than Auvaiyār, a conclusion which is amply borne out otherwise, for Maṇimēgalai belongs to the age when Aryan culture, and B āhmaṇa, Bauddha, and Jaina literary traditions had begun to dominate life in Tamil India. I have not been able to determine whether the custom of cutting up the corpses of kings who have not fallen in battle and endowing them with sham heroism was a northern custom or a Tamil custom at which Brāhmaṇas were invited to preside when they had established their holiness in Southern India. It is worth while searching the Epics, the Puranas and the Dharma Sūtras, to find out whether there is any reference to such a practice in them.

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49 கொற்றங் கொண்டு குடிபுறங் காத்து
செற்றத் தெவ்வர் தேஎந்தம தாக்கியுந்
தருப்பையிற் கிடத்தி வாளிற் போழ்த்து
செருப்புகன் மன்னர் செல்வழிச் செல்கென
மூத்து விளிதலிக் குடிப்பிறந் தோர்க்கு
நாப்புடை பெயராது நாணுத்தக வுடைத்தே.

Maṇ. xxiii. ll, 11-16.

Astronomy and Astrology:

Besides the Vedic sacrifices, and Epic and Puranic legends, all so poorly represented in Puṛam and Agam, other knowledge slowly spread from North India to South India, such as astronomical notions and astrological superstitions. In this connection it must be remembered that early in the Vedic age the path of the moon in the sky had been associated with 27 or 28 nakṣatras, which meant at first, certain constellations which helped the early astronomers to mark the position of the sun and the moon in the sky, and later, arcs of the ecliptic; they had learnt to correlate the solar and the lunar years and to correct their calendar by adding two extra lunar months once in every yuga of five years. But there is absolutely no trace of planetary astrology in the Vedas or the subsidiary Vedic literature, nor the idea of the planets, as having erratic motions of their own, different from the ordered march of the stars in the sky. After the Yavanas (Indo-Greeks) established their rule in Gāndhāra and the valley of the Sindhu, Indian astronomy came to be subjugated by the Greek mixture of astronomical science and astrological pseudo-science. The sun and the moon were degraded to the position of planetary deities influencing the course of human lives and acting as rulers of particular days and hours. To the sun and the moon were added Jupiter and Venus and Mars and the less easily visible Mercury and Saturn and the concept of the astrological seven planets and seven days of the week ruled by them was reached. The path of these so-called planets was divided into twelve parts, all for the purpose of predicting the fortunes of men. These notions filtered down from Greece to India between

200 B.C. and 400 A.D. Old Indian astronomy and Yavana astrology became blended together and became the pseudo-scientific later jyotiṣa in which astrology could scarcely be distinguished from astronomy, different from the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa, which was purely scientific. Two more members were added to the miscellaneous company of 'planets,' viz., rāhu and ketu. These new ideas seem to have reached South India in about the V century A. D., for in the latest poems of Puṟam and Agam, and, that rather rarely, occur astrological allusions. Kūdalūr Kiḻār describes elaborately the point in the sky where he saw a shooting-star, in Puṟam ode 229. It is to be noted that the author follows the early custom of not borrowing from Sanskrit even technical terms. Thus anurādha from its real or supposed resemblance to a palm is called muḍappanaiyam; punarvasu, for a similar reason, kaḍaikkuḷam. It is not impossible that the Tamils gave names to these and some other constellations without help from foreign cultures. But the name of aḻaṟkkuṭṭam for the Pleiades is the translation of 'the star of fire,' agninakṣatra, one of its special Sanskrit names[50]; and āḍu is the translation of meṣa which is itself the translation of Greek aries. Notwithstanding this adhesion to ancient Tamil practice, the poem is sufficiently late to use foreign words (for metric purposes), such as pāśi, east and ūśi, west, borrowed from Prakrit. Paṅguni has been borrowed and not translated. In this ode the author says that he sa w a

[50] It is also called அறுமீன், 'the six fold star', in Agam 141 l. 8 and ஆல், 'fire,' in Malaipaḍukaḍām l. 100. Rohiṇī is called சகடம், 'plate' or 'cart' in Agam, 136 l. 5.

meteor falling from a particular point in the sky and thought that it indicated the coming death of the chief Kōccēramān Yāniakkatcēy Māndarañjēral Irumborai who must therefore have been a very late chief.

Mars is called the 'red star' in the following passage:—"When we saw the full moon in the zenith of the broad sky when the red star was twinkling like the light of a fishing-boat on the middle of the ocean, the dancing woman decked with bangles, looking like the untamed peacock, and I hastened to worship (the moon) in the middle of the forest."[51] Venus is the 'white star' and Saturn, the 'dark star.' "Whether the 'dark star' is dim, the comet appears, or Venus goes south."[52] Apparently these were omens of evil. The explanation of eclipses as due to the serpent swallowing the moon is referred to in the phrase, 'like the moon who has escaped from the sharp teeth of the serpent which has

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[51] முந்நீர் நாப்பண் டிமிற்சுடர் போலச்
செம்மீ னிமைக்கு மாக விசும்பி
னுச்சி நின்ற வுவவுமதி கண்டு
கட்சி மஞ்ஞையிற் சுரமுதல் சேர்ந்த
சில்வளை விறலியும் யானும் வல்விரைந்து
தொழுதனம்.

Pur. 60, l. 6

[52] மைம்மீன் புகையினுந் தூமந் தோன்றினுந்
தென்றிசை மருங்கின் வெள்ளி யோடினும்.

Pur. 117. ll. 1-2.

That the southing of Venus is a sign of impending disaster is also mentioned in Paṭṭinappālai ll. 1-2. வயங்கு வெண்மீன் றிசைதிரிந்து தெற்கேகினும், 'though the bright Venus changing the direction of its motion go south.'

surrounded it,"[53] and "the setting sun soon disappeared like the moon swallowed by the serpent"[54] and "the face became dim like the moon swallowed by the serpent."[55]

Fewness of Aryan ideas:

The Aryan allusions in the Kuṟundogai and the Naṟṟinai are so few as to be negligible. One reason is that a larger number of the poems in these collections are older than those in the Agam and Puṟam and of the two latter, the Agam has more old poems than the Puṟam. Moreover the subject of love necessitates the use of old Tamil literary conventions more than that of war. Of the four anthologies, the Puṟam contains the largest number of late poems, those of the V century A.D. and a few of the VI century A.D. It was after Karikāl's time that kings loomed very large in the imagination of poets and their eulogies of kings were preserved with care. In the older ages, poems in praise of kings or petty chiefs lost their interest after the heroes died; it was not so in the case of love, it being a subject of eternal interest to man. This explains the fact that the love-poems that have come down to us from the early ages so largely outnumber the war-poems. The fewness of Aryan ideas in the anthologies which contain

53 வளை இய பாம்பின்

வையெயிற் றுய்ந்த மதியின்.

Puṟ. 260, ll. 16-17.

54 கல்சேர் ஞாயி

றாவுநுங்கு மதியி னெனெ மறையும்.

Agam, 114, ll. 4-5

55 அரவுநுங்கு மதியி னுதலொளி கரப்ப.

Agam, 313 l. 7.

the most ancient Tamil poems now available shows how little Aryan ideas had been absorbed by the Tamils before the VI century A. D. That these were really very few can be realized when we remember that these poems refer to many hundreds of genuine old Tamil rites and practices, beliefs and superstitions, customs and conventions, the discussion of which would fill a large volume. This shows that the bulk of the people and the great majority of the poets of the period did not easily take to Aryan culture which belonged to the Brāhmaṇas and with which the latest kings of this period now and then coquetted. Some of these kings, though their private life was lived in accordance with the old Tamil customs, desired to be also affiliated with Aryan culture. They patronized yāgas and desired to be reckoned as descendants of the Kṣattriya Rājas of Northern India. Obliging Brāhmaṇas furnished them with the necessary genealogies.

Of the anthologies, the Puṟam was the first to be printed (it was published in 1894), along with its old commentary (the other three possessing none such); its introductory ode by Perundēvanār, being a late poem, describes Śiva quite in the style of Sanskrit poems; the next ode, the first of the anthology, is full of Aryan ideas; and several poems that immediately succeed it are late poems; most people stop with reading these, and do not study the other three anthologies and the Poruḷadigāram of Tolkāppiyam and straightway rush to the wrong conclusion that Tamil poetry began only after Sanskrit poetry reached Southern India, and others go one better and believe that the Tamil muse was the daughter of the Sanskrit muse.

CHAPTER XXV

ŚERA KINGS.

Peruñjeral Adan:

This monarch was defeated by Karikāl in the battle of Veṇṇil and committed suicide on the battle-field to wipe out the disgrace. He must therefore have lived before 400 A. D., i.e. before Karikāl extended his empire beyond the traditional boundaries of the Śōḻanāḍu. This Ādan is referred in various occasional odes; but no long poems were composed about him, such as those of the Ten Songs, and the Ten fold Ten celebrating the greatness of the greater monarchs and nobles of the V and VI centuries. The only incident of his life that is known is that above referred to, forming the subject of the following fine elegy. "The paste is no longer smeared on the drum (i.e. the drum is no longer being beaten); the yāḻ has forgotten the tune; the broad (milk) pot is upside down and butter is being churned no more; the (royal) kindred are no longer drinking the liquor round which bees swarm; the ploughmen are no more hearing the sound produced by their labours; festivities have deserted the broad streets of the villages; as on the great day of the New moon, the two flames (i.e. the Sun and the Moon) being in conjunction, one vanishes in the dim evening behind the hill, the heroic king [Śēral Ādan], being ashamed of the wound on his back inflicted by his rival monarch, killed himself with his sword. So in future the sun will not move for us in the day-time as easily

as he did in the past".[1] From the colophon we learn that the king who committed suicide was Śēramān Peruñjēral Ādan.

This same event or rather its consequences are described in Agam. "The great ones, who heard the unpleasant news that Śēral Ādan committed suicide with his sword by the side of the field of death (battle-field), because he was ashamed of the wound which he got when he fought with Karikāl Vaḷavaṉ in the plain of Veṇṇi, went along with him to the (heaven) world which is difficult to reach (i.e. committed harikari).[2] The ode is by Māmūlanār, a later poet, and this

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[1] மண்முழா மறப்பப் பண்யாழ் மறப்ப
விருங்கட் குழிசி கவிழ்ந்திழுது மறப்பச்
சுரும்பார் தேறல் சுற்ற மறப்ப
வுழவ ரோதை மறப்ப விழவு
மகலு ளாங்கட் சீறூர் மறப்ப
வுவவுத் தலைவந்த பெருநா ளமையத்
திருசுடர் தம்மு ணோக்கி யொருசுடர்
புன்கண் மாலை மலைமறைந் தாங்குத்
தன்போல் வேந்தன் முன்புகுறித் தெறிந்த
புறப்புண் ணாணி மறத்தகை மன்னன்
வாள்வடக் கிருந்தன னீங்கு
நாள்போற் கழியல ஞாயிற்றுப் பகலே.

Pur. 65.

[2] கரிகால் வளவனொடு வெண்ணிப் பறந்தலைப்
பொருதுபுண் ணாணிய சேர லாத
னழிகள மருங்கின் வாள்வடக் கிருந்தென
வின்னா வின்னுரை கேட்ட சான்றோ
ரரும்பெற லுலகத் தவனொடு செலீஇயர்.

Agam, 55, ll. 10-14.

explains his speaking of the harikari as the attempt to reach Vīrasvarga, an Aryan idea. This poem calls the monarch Śēral Ādan and the colophon to Puṛam 65 above quoted, distinguishes him from other Śēral Ādans by prefixing the epithet 'Perum.' Another reading makes him 'Perundōḷ ādan.' Ādan of the big shoulders'.[3]

Udiyan of the Big Feed:

The first great Śēra monarch, about whom we have some information is Udiyañjeral Ādan of the Big Feed. This epithet has been so much misunderstood from early times and has given rise to such absurd legends that the one Puṛam ode in which a contemporary poet, Muḍināgarāyar of Muriñjiyūr, has eulogized him deserves to be fully quoted and fully discussed. It runs thus :—" The earth is packed full of molecules, the sky is supported by the earth, the air embraces the sky, the fire encounters the air, and the water is hostile to the fire. Like, in nature, to the five elements, you bear with your enemies ; you possess extensive wisdom, you have strength, you have might (to destroy) and mercy (to protect); the sun who is born from your ocean, moves on and bathes in the western sea which is topped by white waves ; you are the lord of a fair land in which there are (many) places which yield a large revenue, Lord of a country which has (but) the sky as its boundary, you are a great (monarch). The twice fifty (Kauravas), who were enraged with the five (Pāṇḍavas), possessors of horses with flowing manes, seized their lands and wore the golden Tumbai garland (i.e. proceeded to fighf with

[3] Puṛanānūru, 2nd Ed. p. 135.

them), having fallen on the field of battle, you distributed a large quantity of cooked rice without limit. Even if (fresh) milk should taste sour, the sun turn dark, and the four Vedas turn from the path (of righteousness), [i.e. even if the essential nature of things should change], along with your loyal kindred, may you, without fear, live your full length of years, like the Podiya hill and the gold-peaked Himalayas on whose side the small-headed stag and the large-eyed hind sleep beneath the light of the triple-fire at which Brāhmaṇas offer their evening libations.' [4]

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[4] மண்டிணிந்த நிலனும்
நிலனேந்திய விசும்பும்
விசும்புதைவரு வளியும்
வளித்தலைஇய தீயுந்
தீமுரணிய நீரும் என்றாங்
கைம்பெரும் பூதத் தியற்கை போலப்
போற்றார் பொறுத்தலுஞ் சூழ்ச்சிய தகலமும்
வலியுந் தெறலு மளியு முடையோய்
நின்கடற் பிறந்த ஞாயிறு பெயர்த்துநின்
வெண்டலைப் புணரிக் குடகடற் குளிக்கும்
யாணர் வைப்பி னன்னாட்டுப் பொருந
வான வரம்பனை நீயோ பெரும
வலங்குளைப் புரவி யைவரொடு சினைஇ
நிலந்தலைக் கொண்ட பொலம்பூந் தும்பை
யீரைம் பதின்மரும் பொருதுகளத் தொழியப்
பெருஞ் சோற்று மிகுபதம் வரையாது கொடுத்தோய்
பாஅல் புளிப்பினும் பகலிருளினும்
நாஅல்வேத நெறிதிரியினுந்
திரியாச் சுற்றமொடு முழுதுசேண் விளங்கி
நடுக்கின்றி நிலியரோ வத்தை யடுக்கத்துச்

Lines 15 and 16 of this ode are rather ambiguous. They say, "the twice-fifty having fallen (oḻiya) on the battlefield, you distributed without limit a large quantity of cooked rice." The participle 'having fallen' is capable of many meanings, (1) for the reason that they fell, (2) when they fell, being two important ones. Of these the second is susceptible of misinterpretation, because it may mean 'at the moment they fell' or (long, we do not know, how long) after they fell. The former is the proper interpretation, but all Tamil scholars from early times have taken it to mean "at the time they fell," thus necessitating the inference that Udiyañjēral was present at the battle. So the commentator of the Puṟam anthology has, as so many commentators of Tamil poems have done, imported into his paraphrase things that are not found in the text but have been acquired by his wide reading and by his ratiocination, and said that the Śēra king fed 'both the (contending) armies unstintingly,[2] [probably during the whole course of the war.] The commentator in importing this new idea, probably relied on that unlimited repertory of myths regarding old kings—the romance called Śilappadigāram. In this poem Udiyañjēral is called "the Śēran, the Poṟaiyan, the Malaiyan, who distributed unhesitatingly a large quantity of food in the fight (pōril) between the

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சிறுதலை நவ்விப் பெருங்கண் மாப்பிணை
யந்தி யந்தண ருங்கட னிறுக்கு
முத்தீ விளக்கிற் றுஞ்சும்
பொற்கோட் டிமயமும் பொதியமும் போன்றே.

Puṟ. 2.

[2] உணவை இருபடைக்கும் வரையாது வழங்கினோய்.

Puṟ. 2nd Edition P. 7

five and the hundred."[3] The commentator made the implication in these lines explicit by saying that Udiyan fed both armies, without realizing the absurdity of the idea that a Rāja of the Southernmost corner of India carried rice and condiments to Kurukṣetra for the purpose of feeding of the wheat-eating followers of Duryodhana and Yudhiṣṭira!

As I have said, the proper meaning of the passage is that Udiyan celebrated the death of the Kauravas by distributing food to people. This celebration was probably of the nature of a Śrāddha or perhaps the finale of a dramatic representation of the Bhārata battle. The Śēra country has been famous from ancient times for the peculiar kind of drama, called Kathakaḷi—a dumb show performance, the actors dressed in character, of (amongst other things) incidents from the Mahābhārata, accompanied by songs. It may well be that the Big Feed occurred at the end of such Kathakaḷi. Such funeral oblations to heroes who died long, long previously, was very common in the Tamil country. They were called paṭṭavar kuṟi, feeding as a mark of respect for the dead. Dramatic representation of the valiant deeds of ancient heroes, followed by a big feed was, and continues to be, a common event in the Tamil country. It is now called Kamba Sērvai or Kambakkūttu or Kaḻaikkūttu, at the end of which Kambañjeymākkal, the farm-labourers who take part in the merry-making, are fed by the largest owner of the fertile fields of the village.

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[3] ஓரைவ ரீரைம்பதின்ம ருடன்றெழுந்த
போரிற் பெருஞ்சோறு போற்றாது தானளித்த
சேரன் பொறையன் மலையன்.

Ib. xxix, ஊசல்வரி, st. 2.

Other poems on the Big Feed:

But we need not depend entirely on conjecture to conclude that Peruñjeral Ādan's renowned Big Feed was a memorial feeding or one that was the final incident of a village festival, for two passages in the Agam anthology also refer to that fact, and in unmistakeable terms. The first is from an ode by a Śēra prince, called Śēramāṉ who died at Kōṭṭambalam, which contains the simile, "like the kitchen of Udiyan who ungrudgingly accepted the duty of the gift (of food) in the village of Kuḻumūr, where cows abound."[4] This fixes the place where the famous feeding took place as Kuḻumūr (probably identical with a place of the same name in the Coimbatore district) and not Kurukṣetra. The other passage speaks of "the day of the distribution of a large quantity of cooked rice by Udiyañjēral, who (thus) honoured the elders who had died and earned undying fame, when a crowd of large-teethed goblins swarmed round."[5] This poem definitely informs us that the Big Feed did not take place during the battle, but on a very much later occasion, when some kind of celebration of the memory of the battle took place. And what kind of celebration could it have been other than a

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4 நல்லான் பரப்பிற் குழுமூ ராங்கட்
கொடைக்கட னேன்ற கோடா நெஞ்சி
னுதிய னட்டில் போல.

Agam. 168. ll. 5-7.

5 துறக்க மெய்திய தொய்யா நல்லிசை
முதியர்ப் பேணிய வுதியஞ் சேரல்
பெருஞ்சோறு கொடுத்த ஞான்றை யிரும்பல்
கூளிச் சுற்றங் குழீஇயிருந் தாங்கு.

Agam. 233, ll. 7-10.

dramatic performance, at the close of which the actors and the audience were fed on a large scale, at the place called Kuḻumūr?

This poem is by Māmulanār, one of the latest of the poets whose poems have been included in the early anthologies. Hence Udiyañjēral's date cannot be very early.

This Udiyañjēral seems to have been a great warrior. For Naṟṟiṇai has the simile, "like the noise of the lily-flute (or the tune called 'the lily' played on the flute) of the musicians on the noisy battle-field where Udiyan fought fiercely."[6] Agam has the simile, "like the bards who sought bounty by singing the praises of Udiyañjēral who enlarged his dominions."[7] Hence this Udiyan was a warrior and a generous patron of letters and scarcely likely to have been butler-in-chief to the contending armies on the field of Kurukṣetra.

Time of the Big Feed:

Otherwise, too, it is the height of nonsense to ascribe this Puṟam ode, its author and its hero to any date earlier than the V century A. D. The first six lines of the ode constitute a pedantic enumeration of the 'five great elements' (aimberumbūdam) i.e., the five

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[6] உதியன் மண்டிய வொலிதலை ஞாட்பி
னிம்மென் பெருங்களத் தியவ ரூது
மாம்பலங் குழலின்.

Nar. 113. ll. 9-11.

[7] நாடுகண் ணகற்றிய வுதியஞ் சேரற்
பாடிச் சென்ற பரிசிலர் போல.

Agam. 65. ll. 5-6.

This is also by Māmulanār.

classes of permanent possibilities of sensation into which the Sāṅkhya philosophy analysed the objective world. Such an allusion could have been made only after Āryan ideas had thoroughly saturated the mind of the Tamils. So also the other allusion to the golden-peaked Himalayas, which occurs only in later poems. We may take it that Udiyan lived after Peruñjēral Ādan, for the one Puṟam ode on the latter by a contemporary poet is, judging from internal evidence, anterior to the one on Udiyan, also by a contemporary poet.

The Ten fold Ten:

We can derive information about the kings who succeeded this Udiyan from the Padiṟṟuppattu or Tenfold Ten. The Padiṟṟuppattu is an anthology of ten poems, each poem being made up of ten odes of varying length but containing on an average about 20 lines each. This is the first of the anthologies of odes, not occasional, but of groups of ten poems each, each group composed with the set purpose of elaborately eulogizing one particular monarch or chief. Of these the first and the last have been lost. Each of these is about a Śera king or chief, and is furnished with an epilogue (padigam) found not in the manuscript copies of the text alone, but only in the copies which contain also the commentaries; these padigams furnish historical or legendary notes about the heroes of the poems containing matter mostly not found in the text. As usual, modern writers have confused the text of the poems with the epilogues and speak of the whole as Padiṟṟuppattu and attributed equal evidential value to the text and the epilogue and also the commentary.

The poets of the Tenfold Ten were Brāhmaṇas of the V or VI century A. D. Hence the poems teem

with references to Aryan ideas and Āgama practices and therefore must have been composed after the Āgama temple worship had spread in the land. Thus the opening lines of ode 14 of the second Ten eulogize the king as possessing "greatness," unmeasurable like the four (elements), earth, water, air and sky and splendour equal to the effulgence of the (following) five, viz., the stars, the planets, the moon, the sun and the intense fire, when they are gathered together in one place."[8] In this passage, besides the differentiation between the stars and the planets, an idea taken over from Greek astronomy, there is probably an allusion to the later Indian concept of the celestial bodies being all concentrated in one quarter at the beginning of a Kalpa.

The first line of ode 21 mentions as five aids to the right conduct of kings, "grammar, artha śāstra, astrology, the śruti, and the pure reason."[9] This indicates that the Śēra kings had been sufficiently Aryanized to break from their age-long moorings, but conservation still reigned in the region of language, for the "aids to conduct" are called by Tamil names, ingenious translations of the Sanskrit ones, the words 'nāṭṭam' and 'kēḷvi,' being specially noticeable. The old conventions are slipping from the minds of monarchs and the precepts of the Brāhmaṇas are gaining a strong grip.

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[8] நிலநீர் வளிவிசும் பென்ற நான்கி
னளப்பரி யையே
நாள்கோ டிங்கண் ஞாயிறு கனையழ
லைந்தொருங்கு புணர்ந்த விளக்கத் தனையை.

Padiṟ. 14. ll. 1-4.

[9] சொற்பெயர் நாட்டங் கேள்வி
நெஞ்சமென் றைந்து.

Padiṟ. 21. ll. 1-2.

showing that the age is one of transition. That Brāhmaṇas became the keepers of the royal conscience is proved by another passage where the king is praised as "following the ways of the virtuous Brāhmaṇas whose duties are six, viz., learning, offering sacrifices, assisting others to do these, taking and making gifts."[10] Another reference to the new ways that were spreading in the land is an allusion to a king giving gifts of jewels to temples[11] and to the destruction of forests and the building of temples in the sites.[12] In these temples the Āgama form of worship was followed. Thus, "The well-cast bell was sounded so as to emit a clear, loud note. Men who were fasting bathed in the cool bathing-ghat. They worshipped the fair feet of the Lord Viṣṇu who wears the garland of clusters of sweet-smelling holy basil, and (wields) the discus which dazzles the eyes, and on whose broad breast is seated Lakṣmī who is adorned by a garland (of flowers) round which bees are humming.[13]

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10 ஓதல் வேட்ட லவைபிறர்ச் செய்த
லீத லேற்றலென் றாறுபுரிந் தொழுகு
மறம்புரி யந்தணர் வழிமொழிந் தொழுகி.

Padiṟ 24. ll. 6-8.

11 புரைவயிற் புரைவயிற் பெரிய நல்கி.

Ib. 15. l. 37.

12 காடே கடவுள் மேன.

Ib. 13. l. 20.

13 தெள்ளுயர் வடிமணி யெறியுநர் கல்லென
வுண்ணாப் பைஞ்ஞிலம் பனித்துறை மண்ணி
வண்டூது பொலிதார்த் திருஞெம ரகலத்துக்
கண்பொரு திகிரிக் கமழ்குரற் றுழாஅ
யலங்கற் செல்வன் சேவடி பரவி.

Padiṟ. 31. ll. 5-9.

But yet the old Tamil customs had not been ousted by the new Aryan ones. For there are four references to the old Tuṇaṅgai dance by kings on the battle field, of which the following is a specimen. "Raising high the strong shoulders and dancing the Tuṇaṅgai (beating the sides of the body with bent arms during dancing) on the battle-field filled with corpses."[16] The other ancient kuravai dance is also mentioned as taking place in Pugār.[17] The ancient Tamil dance of victory on the battle-field is also described. "The powerful drum was beaten; the sword was raised aloft by the bejewelled king, who wore the uliñai creeper made of gold, and danced on the battle field."[18]

Another case of the persistence of Tamil ways is the continuance of the practice of burial, even of royal corpses. "The burial-ground where the burial urns in which kings were buried were seen in the assembly place under the vanni (Suma) tree".[19] The commentator

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[16] திணிதோ ளுயர வோச்சிப்
பிணம்பிறங் கழுவத்துத் துணங்கை யாடி.

Ib. 45. ll. 11-12.

Other references are found in 13. l. 5, 52. l. 14, 57. l. 4, and 77. l. 4.

[17] குரவை யயரும் புகார்.

Ib. 73.

[18] வலம்படு முரசந் துவைப்ப வாளுயர்த்
திலங்கும் பூணன் பொலங்கொடி யுழிஞையன்
...............போர்க்களத் தாடுங் கோவே.

Ib. 56. ll. 4-5 and 8.

[19] மன்னர் மறைத்த தாழி
வன்னி மன்றத்து விளங்கிய காடே.

Padiṛ. 44. ll. 22-23.

explains that under this tree the mourners sat as in a manṟam (assembly). Even the old Tamil gods are holding their own against the new Aryan deities. Thus the god of the mighty war-drum is lauded but along with mantras.[20] The mantras were of course not genuine but imitation ones invented for the benefit of the newly Aryanized kings. The goddess of victory still continued to reside in the Vāgai tree.[21]

Hence it is plain that though the Aryan intrusions are more intimate than in the previous ages, the Tamil literary tradition was carried on in these poems. They are each assigned to the Tuṟais into which the Tiṇais are divided in Tolkāppiyanār's grammar; all the old turns of expression, the distribution not only of food and drink to singers and dancing women, but presenting them with gold ornaments, horses, elephants and chariots abound in the Padiṟṟuppattu. The primary object of each group of ten odes is to sing of one great Śēra hero. The first ten is lost and it has been guessed that it must have sung of Udiyañjēral. The second is about his son Neḍuñjēral and the fifth about the latter's son, Kuṭṭuvan. The rest are about junior members of the family or more distant relations. The achievements of the two great Śēra monarchs will now be taken up for consideration.

M. Raghava Iyengar has in his Tamil book on Śēran Śeṅguṭṭuvan selected the accounts of the exploits of the

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[20] முழங்கு மந்திரத்
தருந்திறன் மரபிற் கடவுட் பேணியர்.

Ib. 30 ll. 33-34.

[21] கடவுள் வாகை.

Ib. 66. l. 15

Śēra kings celebrated in the eight poems so far discovered of the Tenfold Ten and narrated them briefly. But he has taken the references by contemporary poets, the later references in the Śilappadigāram, and the accounts in the Epilogues, which were composed centuries after the poems, and whose texts are in some cases hopelessly corrupt, as all having the same historical value, whereas the information about the Śēra heroes of the poems given in the padigams can be accepted by us only if the poems themselves even remotely confirm it. Where such confirmation is not available it is difficult to decide whether the statements in the epilogues, can be accepted as true. In them improbably long periods are assigned to the reigns of scme kings. For the matter of that, the poems themselves adopt an exaggerated style of adulation not found in the earlier anthologies. An example will be given in connection with the king dealt wih in the section that immediately succeeds this. This exaggeration shows that the old realism is giving way and the methods of the artificial Kāvyas of Sanskrit are beginning to influence Tamil bards.

Imayavaramban Neḍuñjēral Ādan:

From the padigam we learn that Neduñjēral was the son of Udiyañjēral by Nallini, daughter of Veḷiyan Vēṉmān. This king's greatest achievement was his sailing to an island where was planted the Kaḍambu tree, the symbol of the sovereignty of a rival monarch. Such trees were called guardian-trees (Kāval maram), and each Tamil monarch or chief grew a special tree symbolic of his power and perhaps, like a totem, mystically connected with his might. The felling of the tree was something like capturing the chief's flag. It

has been surmised that this Kaḍambu tree was identical with the Kadamba tree after which the Kadamba Kings of Banavāse got their dynastic name. This identification is not improbable, because the Kadamba kings rose to eminence in the latter half of the V century A. D. when Neḍuñjēral must have flourished. The praise of this achievement is the chief subject of Ode **11**, the first of the second Ten, and is referred to also in the 12th, 17th and 20th odes. He carried the cut trunk in his ship and made a war-drum out of it, for such was the use to which all kings put the trunks of the 'guardian-trees' of their foes. That Neḍuñjēral Ādan did so is said in a simile in an Agam ode by Māmūlanār, which says that a certain noise was like "the roar of the well-tuned drum made from the Kaḍambu tree, cut, after sailing along the broad sea, by Śēral Ādan who possessed a large army."[22]

Neduñjēral and vedic sacrifices:

These poems of the Padiṟṟuppattu mostly contain general eulogies of kings and princes, but a few more facts can be gleaned from them about our hero. Thus he cleared forests and built temples and made many offerings to temples.[23] Hence we may infer that Brāhmaṇas gained a very firm foothood in Tamil courts in the reign of this King. Perhaps on account of this, a legend arose in later times that Kaudamanār, the eulogist of Neduñjēral's brother, a Kuṭṭuvan who drove (?) many elephants, performed ten yāgams with

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22 சால்பெருந் தானைச் சேர லாதன்
மால்கட லோட்டிக் கடம்பறுத் தியற்றிய
பண்ணமை முரசின் கண்ணதிர்ந் தன்ன.

Agam 347, ll. 3-5.

23 Vide p. 497 supra.

the help of this prince and was translated to Svarga along with his wife when he was performing the tenth.[24]

Neḍuñjēral's military exploits :

Ode 11 also says, we " have seen with gladness your wealth, praised by many, carried on the bedecked back of the excellent elephant on whose breast there were garlands, (whose forehead was adorned by) a face-plate and whose tusk was strong and long. You quelled the valour of those who called themselves monarchs of the land between Comorin on the south and the famous Himalayas where the Āryas abound and the yak sleeps on the hills covered thick with the Oleander and dreams of the broad mountain streams and the narandam (lemon-grass ?)".[25] It is not easy to discover the grain of fact within this straw-heap of flattering verbrage. Possibly Neḍuñjēral

[24] The earliest reference to this miracle is found, as usual, in that storehouse of legends, the Śilappadigāram, xxviii. ll. 137-138.

[25] மார்புமலி பைந்தா ரோடையொடு விளங்கும்
வலனுயர் மறுப்பிற் பழிதீர் யானைப்
பொலனணி யெருத்த மேல்கொண்டு பொலிந்தநின்
பலர்புகழ் செல்வ மினிதுகண் டிகுமே
கவிர்ததை சிலம்பிற் றுஞ்சுங் கவரி
பரந்திலங் கருவியொடு நரந்தங் கனவு
மாரியர் துவன்றிய பேரிசை யிமயந்
தென்னங் குமரியொ டாயிடை
மன்மீக் கூறுநர் மறந்தபக் கடந்தே,

Padiṟ. 11. ll. 17-25.

marched a few miles north of the Śēra country (into the Kadamba territory or Konkan and brought back some presents, and poets eager for reward, spoke of it as the expansion of his Empire throughout the whole of India. And they thence gave him the title of Imayavaramban 'he whose kingdom had the Himalayas as its boundary.'[26]

Possibly as a result of this achievement Śēral Ādan assumed the title 'One to whose broad breast, where prosperity resided, belonged the seven crowns', implying that he deprived seven kings of their crowns and melted them and made a gold necklace out of them.[27] This title also was inherited by his son, who was called also 'the Śēran on whose breast were seven crowns.'

In the contemporary euolgy, Kumaṭṭūr Kaṇṇanār merely says that his master "quelled the valour" (whatever it may mean) of northern kings upto the Himalayan region "where the Āryas abound." As another passage shows, the description of the Himalayas as the regions of the Āryas was a conventional phrase. "The rain protects and causes to flourish the (region of the) tall mountain of the Āryas where gold is found."[28]

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[26] This title is applied also to Śeṅguṭṭuvan, the hero of to the third canto of Silappadigāram, in xxvi. 1, 23 and xxx. 1. 161.

[27] எழுமுடி கெழீஇய திருஞெம ரகலத்து.

Padiṟ. 14. l. 11, 16. l. 17.

எழுமுடி மார்பி னெய்திய சேரல்.

Ib. 45. l. 6.

மாரி புறந்தர நந்தி யாரியர்
பொன்படு நெடுவரை.

Agam. 398. ll. 18-19

But Paraṇar, the eulogist of Neḍuñjēral's son, Kuṭṭuvan, magnifies the story. He says that this Śēral Ādan "charged the Āryas so as to make them howl, cut the bent bow on the ancient Northern mountain, and captured (lit., trussed up) the ferocious kings (of that region)."[29]

Māmūlanār, a late poet who refers in his odes to numerous kings and chiefs who preceded him in time, summarizes Neḍuñjēral's exploits in these words. "Śēral Ādan of the powerful drum, sailed on the sea, cut the Kaḍambu, incised the bent bow on the Himalayas, so as to cause terror to those who lived before it, (and spread) on the plain of the fair city of Māndai the famous jewels, the idol made of gold, and (heaps of) diamonds respectfully given to him as tribute by his enemies."[30]

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29 ஆரிய ரலறத் தாக்கிப் பேரிசைத்
தொன்றுமுதிர் வடவரை வணங்குவிற் பொறித்து
வெஞ்சின வேந்தரைப் பிணித்தோன்.

Agam. 396. ll. 16-18.

Kumaṭṭūr Kannanār's "quelled the valour" of the northern kings has in one generation grown into "trussed them up".

30 வலம்படு முரசிற் சேர லாதன்
முந்நீ ரோட்டிக் கடம்பெறிந் திமயத்து
முன்னோர் மருள வணங்குவிற் பொறித்து
நன்னகர் மாந்தை முற்றத் தொன்னார்
பணிதிறை தந்த பாடுசா னன்கலம்
பொன்செய் பாவை வயிரமொடு.

Agam. 127. ll. 3-8.

Neḍuñjeral's father was Vānavaramban, 'one who had the sky as his boundary' and the son became 'Imayavaramban' 'one who had the Himalayas as his boundary.'

Neḍuñjēral myths:

We thus see that the wild, vague statement in Padirrppattu of the extension of Neḍuñjēral's sway upto the Himalayas has crystallized into a definite fact that he carved his bow-emblem on the top of the mountain. In the V century when on account of the rapid spread of Aryan ideas in Tamil India, Tamil poets became familiar with the Sanskrit phrase 'from the Setu to the Himalayas' they began to refer to the Abode of Snow in their poems; and they invented legends about Tamil kings conquering the whole of India and each of them carving his emblem on the Himalayas—a more permanent sign of conquest than planting a flag. This feat was attributed first to Karikāl and then extended to others. Karikāl was the first Tamil king who extended Tamil sway beyond the borders of the Tamil land. As the geographical notions of the Tamil bards were of a nebulous kind, to them whatever was beyond the Tamil land belonged to the Gangetic—Himalayan region, as to the average Englishman whatever is not 'home' is 'abroad' and Paris is as much 'abroad' as Pekin. So when a Tamil king possessed real or mythical sway outside the Tamil Nādu. he carved his emblem on the top of the Himalayas. Thus Karikāl incised there his tiger, Neḍuñjēral, his bow, and an unnamed Pāṇḍiyan, his carp. Thus sings the Śilappadigāram :—"The Pāṇḍiyan, who wore the (pearl) garland (sat under) the white umbrella and ruled the earth, when the Śōlan and the Śēran who cut the tiger and the bow by the side of the carp incised on the head of the Himalayas and other kings of Jambudvīpa obeyed his behests."[31] The poets imagined that Imayam, as they

called the range, was a solitary hill, 'a big stone'[32] 'a tall mountain,'[33] and not a series of folds of the crust of the earth, one above another in an increasing series of peaks, each overtopping the one below, till the highest reaches the thinner levels of the atmosphere, and stands there relentlessly mocking human efforts to reach it. This ignorance of the geography of the Himalayas on the part of the Tamil poets is responsible for their making Karikāl reach the top of the giant mountain range and even peer beyond on Tibet and the other Tamil Kings to emulate his example.

Māmūlanār records another myth that had gathered round the name of Neḍuñjēral. The wealth which he brought on the backs of elephants, according to the contemporary testimony of ode 11 has by Māmūlanār's time grown into a heap of beautiful jewels, an idol of gold and a hoard of diamonds. In the Padigam annexed to this second poem of Padiṟṟuppattu, devoted to Neḍuñjēral Ādan, the snowball has gathered more matter and become greater in size. It says, "Neḍuñjēral carved his bow-emblem on the Himalayas whose streams are beautiful, wielded his sceptre which shone all throughout the Tamil land, surrounded by the roaring sea, with befitting fame subjugated the Āryas who belonged to celebrated families, captured the wicked

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[31] கயலெழுதிய விமய நெற்றியி
னயலெழுதிய புலியும் வில்லு
நாவலந்தண் பொழில் மன்ன
ரேவல் கேட்பப் பாரா சாண்ட
மாலை வெண்குடைப் பாண்டியன். Śil. xvii. 1-5.

[32] பெருங்கல். Puṟ. 17 l. 1.

[33] நெடுவரை. Ib 6 l. 1.

yavanas of barbarous speech, poured oil on their heads, tied their hands to their backs and took their priceless jewels and diamonds."[34] Verily poetic magination plays sad tricks with history.

The colophons to Puram 62, 63 and 368 say that the three poems were sung about Śēramān Kuḍakkō Neduñjēralādan and Śōḻan Vēṟpahradakkai Peruviṟaṟkiḷḷi, both of whom fell dead when fighting with each other. Apparently this Neduñjēral Ādan is different from the hero of Padiṟṟuppattu, for he was but Kuḍakkō, ruler of the Kuḍa province. But it is doubtful whether the note in the colophon is at all reliable.

A digression on the fights of Tamil kings with Āryas:

Besides Śēral Ādan's fight with the Āryas (of Banavāse or Koṅkaṇ), the later odes refer to a few more fights with Āryas, which may be taken up for discussion here. Two of them occur as similes in poems of the Marudam class. One compares the victory of the viṟali who appeared in a festival clad in a leaf-garment[35] over the friends of a husband who tried to save him from her wiles, to the fact that" at

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[34] அமைவர லருவி யிமையம் விற்பொறித்
இமிழ்கடல் வேலித் தமிழகம் விளங்கத்
தன்கோ னிறீஇத் தகைசால் சிறப்பொடு
பேரிசை மரபி ஞரியர் வணக்கி
நயனில் வன்சொல் யவனர்ப் பிணித்து
நெய்தலைப் பெய்து கைபிற் கொளீஇ
யருவிலை நன்கலம் வயிரமொடு கொண்டு.

Padir. 2nd Padigam. ll. 4-10.

[35] Vide p. 287 supra.

the famous town of Mulḷūr the Arya (soldiers) swarmed but ran away before the unparalled lances-brigade of Malaiyan (a Śēran), who unsheathed his bright sword and (attacked them) with his large army.'[36] Mulḷūr was the capital of Malayamān Tirumuḍik Kāri. The titles Malayan and Malaiyamān show that he was a scion of the Śēra dynasty. It is said that "Kāri of the beautiful spear, who wore the (heroes') anklet (on his feet), lord of Mulḷūr, killed the strong bowman, Ori of lasting fame, and gave to the Śeras the fair vēl tree as well as the jack-tree, which are the produce of the fertile (region of) the Kolli (hills) where there is an idol of the eternal goddess praised by many"[37]. The Kolli region was ruled over by Ori before Kāri killed him. Kāri's killing of Ori was apparently an event which appealed much to the imagination of the ancients, for Kabilar, the eulogist of Kāri and other Śēras, says that the public appearance of a harlot with but a leaf garment on created an uproar, "as loud as that which rose from his enemies when Kāri entered the

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36 ஆரியர் துவன்றிய பேரிசை முள்ளூர்ப்
பலருடன் கழித்த ஒள்வாள் மலையன
தொருவேற் கோடி

Nar. 170. ll. 6-8.

37 செவ்வேன்

முள்ளூர் மன்னன் கழறொடிக்காரி
செல்லா நல்லிசை நிறுத்த வல்வில்
லோரிக் கொன்று சேரலர்க் கீத்த
செவ்வேற் பலவின் பயங்கெழு கொல்லி
நிலைபெறு கடவு ளாக்கிய
பலர் புகழ் பாவை.

Agam. 209. ll. 11-17.

unrivalled broad streets, after killing Ori."[38] Kāri is called lord of Muḻḻūr, as well as the land adjoining the Peṇṇai (Southern Peṇṇār)[39] and therefore the Āryas that fought with him must have been the Pallavas, who were trying to extend their dominions after recovering Kāñci in the VI century A. D.

In the other simile a harlot says "may my bangles break like the army of the Āryas in the forest of Vallam where (stood) the close array of Kuṛumba bowmen who rained a shower of arrows and (fought under) the Śōḻas, the wielders of the victorious spear and the black buckler."[40] The Āryas referred to here must have also been Pallavas. Vallam, whose forest guarded Tanjore, is here mentioned for the first time. Very soon the two places were destined to become the capitals of the Muttaraiyar and later of the great Śōḻa dynasty when it was established in the middle of the IX century A. D.

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38 ஓரிக் கொன்ற வொருபெருந் தெருவிற்
காரி புக்க நேரார் புலம்போற்
கல்லென் றன்றால்.

Naṛ. 320. 5-7.

39 பெண்ணையம் படப்பை நாடுகிழ வோயே.

Puṛ. 126. 1 23.

Muḻḻūr is near Jiñji, on the southern limit of the ancient Aruva Nāḍu.

40 வென்வேன்
மாரியம்பின் மழைத்தோற் சோழர்
வில்லீண்டு குறும்பின் வல்லத்துப் புறமிளை
யாரியர் படையி னுடைக வென்
(வளையே)

Agam. 336, l. 19-22.

A minor king of Madura was called Āryappaḍai Kaḍanda (or tanda) Neduñjeḻiyan. This probably means 'Neduñjeḻiyan who defeated the Ārya army.' But there is no mention anywhere of his fighting with an Ārya army, so it may have been an empty title. This king is mentioned in an epilogue to the II Canto of Silappadigāram as the one who unjustly ordered the execution of Kovalan, was hence cursed by Kaṇṇagi and died in consequence. But as the text of the romance does not mention his name, not much weight can be given to the statement in the epilogue. One short ode is assigned to him, which says "when (one's teacher is) in difficulties, it is good to help him, to give him wealth and, without being put out by his later condition, to (continue to) learn (from him). Even a mother's mind will turn to one of those who are born from the same womb on account of his excellence. Of those that are born in the same family, the king does not welcome the eldest but follows the path of the wisest of them. Of the four castes whose different qualities are well-known, if one of a lower caste is learned, a member of a higher caste will become his pupil."[41] This is very poor

[41] உற்றுழி யதவியு முறுபொருள் கொடுத்தும்
பிற்றைநிலை முனியாது கற்ற னன்றே
பிறப்போ ரன்ன வுடன்வயிற் றுள்ளுஞ்
சிறப்பின் பாலான் றாயுமனந் திரியு
மொருகுடிப் பிறந்த பல்லோ ருள்ளு
மூத்தோன் வருக வென்னா தவரு
ளறிவுடை யோனா றரசுஞ் செல்லும்
வேற்றுமை தெரிந்த நாற்பா லுள்ளுங்
கீழ்ப்பா லொருவன் கற்பின்
மேற்பா லொருவனு மவன்கட் படுமே

Puṛ. 183.

poetry and the only thing we can infer from it that the royal author must have lived after Aryan culture was firmly enthroned in the hearts of the kings and the people. The guess can be made that by men of the Brāhmaṇa caste learning from those of lower ones, the author perhaps refers to Brāhmaṇas learning Tamil poetry and grammar from Tamil scholars.

Another Pāṇḍiyan, whose title Māṟan Vaḻudi and not personal name is known, and who died at Kūḍagāram, is said to have caused 'northern kings to fade.' This may be an empty boast, because no particular battle where he defeated them is mentioned This king must have been a late one, because his eulogist is Marudan Iḷanāganār, author of Marudakkali in which Aryan ideas abound.

This subject has been discussed in so much detail because on the strength of these few passages, and a few more to be discussed in a later section, Krishnaswami Ayyengar has boldly constructed the theory that "there was a series of Aryan invasions under the Mauryas and their successors the Andhras, as distinct from Aryan settlements.

Kaḍalōṭṭiya vēl keḻu Kuṭṭuvan:

This 'Kuṭṭuvan to whom belonged the spear with which he turned the sea back,' according to the Padigam at the end of the fifth Ten devoted to his praise, was the son of Neḍuñjēral Ādan. But the line which mentions this Kuṭṭuvan's mother's name is hopelessly corrupt. The passage says that he was "the son begotten by Neḍuñjēral the king of the Kuḍavar whose

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[42] The Beginnings of South Indian history, p. 96.

victorious flag touched the sky and terrified the Northerners, on the Śōḻ ın Maṉakkiḷḷi."[42]

As one male cannot very well be the wife of another male, we have to infer that the text must be corrupt; and so long as we cannot inspect the mss. from which the editor of the poem got this line, it is impossible even to guess what the proper reading was likely to have been. Moreover no one who has seen the bad state of preservation in which the decayed and poochi-eaten palm leaf mss. of old Tamil texts are, can venture to discuss how the corruption arose in this line. M. Srinivasa Aiyangar boldly attempted to cut the gordian knot by taking Maṅakiḷḷi as Neduñjēral's sister's husband.[43] He assumed that descent of the right to the throne from uncle to nephew, now obtaining in the Malayalam country, existed in old days. The old Śēra kings were Tamils, and Malayāḷi dynasties following the Marumakkattāyam (inheritance by nephews) law rose only after the X century A. D. Kuṭṭuvan's father, Neduñjēral, got the throne because he was the son and not the nephew of his predecessor.

Kuṭṭuvan's exploits:

The achievements of Kuṭṭıvan were as few as those of his father, according to the testimony of Paraṇar, his eulogist. As courteous poet-laureates do, the father's achievements are by the poet attributed to the son. He is addressed as "Kuṭṭvan of the gold garland,

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[42] வடவ ருட்கும் வான்றோய் வெல்கொடிக்
குடவர் கோமான் னெடுஞ்சேர லாதற்குச்
சோழன் மணக்கிள்ளி யீன்ற மகன்.

Padiṟ. Padigam on the 5th Ten, ll. 1-3.

[43] Tamil studies, p. 287.

whose armies destroyed the beauty of many lands, till the noise rose loud of the drums used in numerous battles with the monarchs of the country between Comorin on the South and the Himalayas, the mountain that rises high as the northern boundary "[44] The title of the Śēran 'who wore on his breast the (garland made from) seven crowns' was also transfered from father to son.[45]

Another boast of this king was that which gave him the epithet which has become a part of his full name, that of beating back the sea by throwing a spear at it. This conquest of the sea is frequently referred to. Thus "your feet with which you rode on the white-maned, fast-running horse conquered the cold sea, whose waves are breaking and where spray is produced by the beating of the wind."[46] "Besides you there will be no more kings, nor were there any before you, whose army, like the white buckler of buffalo-hide, quelled the might of the

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44 கல்லோங்கு நெடுவரை
வடதிசை யெல்லை யிமய மாகத்
தென்னங் குமரியொ டாயிடை யரசர்
முரசுடைப் பெருஞ்சமந் ததைய வார்ப்பெழச்
சொல்பல நாட்டைத் தொல்கவி னழித்த
போரடு தானைப் பொலந்தார்க் குட்டுவ.

Padiṟ. 43. ll. 6-11.

45 எழுமுடி மார்பி னெய்திய சேரல்.

Ib. 45. l. 6.

46 காலுளைக் கடும்பிசி ருடைய வாலுளைக்
கடும்பரிப் புரவி யூர்ந்தநின்
படுந்திரைப் பனிக்கட லுழந்த தாளே.

Padiṟ. 41. ll. 25-27.

bows of enemies. No one else could throw the spear bright like a shining gem and conquer the cold sea, which does not diminish by clouds taking water from it and increase by rivers flowing into it, on which the waves roar, when it is beaten by the moving wind and the large, full cloud shines."[47] The poet returns to the subject in the next ode and calls the king, "Kuṭṭuvan, famous for victory, who threw the spear so as to agitate the sea which contains the chank shell fit for blowing, which is broad and whose waves are (constantly) breaking."[48] Once more the poet calls him "the Paradava (sailor) on the cold sea, who established undying fame by going on the sea and fighting with it."[49]

It is difficult to guess what this oft repeated eulogy means. Kuṭṭuvan's spear did apparently succeed in doing what Canute's loudly-uttererd order could not. Probably

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தெவ்வர்

47 சிலைவிசை யடக்கிய மூரிவெண்டோ
லனைய பண்பிற் றானை மன்ன
ரினியா ருளரோநின் முன்னு மில்லை
மழைகொளக் குறையாது புனல்புக நிறையாது
விலங்குவளி கடவுந் துளங்கிருங் கமஞ்சூல்
வயங்குமணி யிமைப்பின் வேலிடுபு
முழங்குதிரைப் பனிக்கடன் மறுத்திசினோரே

Ib. 45. ll. 15-22.

48 கோடுநரல் பௌவங் கலங்க வேலிட்
டுடைதிரைப் பரப்பிற் படுகட லோட்டிய
வெல்புகழ்க் குட்டுவன்.

Ib. 46. ll. 11-13.

49 கெடலரும் பல்புகழ் நிலைஇ நீர்புக்குக்
கடலொ டுழந்த பனித்துறைப் பரதவ.

Ib. 48. ll. 3-4.

the throwing of the spear was solemnly performed by him as a symbol of Kuṭṭuvan's lordship of the sea. Paraṇar returns to the subject in an occasional ode. "Kuṭṭuvan, not finding an enemy worthy to fight with, became angry, with martial might besieged the sea, and with his magnificent spear drove back the sea whose waves rise high.'[50] In later times this same feat of driving back the sea by throwing his spear at it was also attributed to a Pāṇḍyan, who was hence called Vaḍimbalamba ninra-pāṇḍyan, 'the Pandiyan who stood while the sea washed the edges (of his feet).' (Vide p. 240 supra: also commentary on Puṟam 9 and the modern editor's note on line 10 of the above poem). The references show how a simple sea-festival became magnified into this feat.

It is just possible that the Śēra country, having been brought under Aryan influence in the time of Neḍuñjēral, he was fired with zeal by the story of Paraśurāma's flinging a spear against the sea to make it retreat and the king emulated the example of that Brāhmaṇa warrior: and later on when the sthalapurāṇam of Madura was evolved, the feat was extended to a Pāṇḍiya king and the story of Ukkira Pāṇḍiyan obtaining a consecrated spear from the Śivan of Madura and, by throwing it, drying up the sea which had presumed to wash the edges of his feet, was evolved, as narrated in Tiruvālavāyuḍaiyar's Tiruviḷaiyāḍar purāṇam, xxi. 6.

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50 குட்டுவன்
பொருமுரண் பெறாஅது விலங்குசினஞ் சிறந்து
செருச்செய் முன்பொடு முந்நீர் முற்றி
யோங்குதிரைப் பௌவ நீங்க வோட்டிய
நீர்மா ணெஃகம்.

Agam. 212. ll. 16-20.

Several modern-day Tamil scholars say that Vaḍimbalamba ninṟa Pāṇḍiyan is referred to in Puṟam; that is wrong, for he is merely mentioned in V. Swāminādā Iyer's foot-note on the phrase 'the king who celebrated the sea-festival,' munnīr viḻavi neḍiyōn, in l. 10 of Puṟam 9.

Kuṭṭuvan and Mōgūr:

The one genuine martial exploit of Kuṭṭuvan is described in the following terms:—He declared Aṟugai, victor in battles who wore the thin creeper of uḻiñai (i.e., was besieged), though far from him, to be his friend. To relieve him from the sorrow of going away and concealing himself, (the king) took upon himself the work of destroying forts and captured the drum of the lord of Mōgūr who spread disaster. He quelled the boastful words (of the lord of Mōgūr, cut off the trunk of the margosa (Mōgūr's tree), broke it into small bits for making drums out of them, and yoked many elephants to his cart. The urns in which were buried many kings who possessed drums and ruled joyfully over the broad earth and the bright sea and who were defeated (by Kuṭṭuvan) filled the graveyard where under the vanni tree the mourners sit and where the female owl twits the crested male owl for having forgotten where he dropped his piece of lean meat."[51]

51 நுண்கொடி யுழிஞை வெல்போ ரறுகை
சேண ணாயினுங் கேளென வொழிந்து
புலம்பெயர்ந் தொளித்த களையா பூசற்
கரண்கடா வுறீஇ யணங்குநிகழ்ந் தன்ன
மோகூர் மன்னன் முரசங் கொண்டு
நெடுமொழி பணித்தவன் வேம்புமுத றடிந்து
முரசுசெய முரச்சிக் களிறுபல பூட்டி

Apparently Mōgūr was helped by a number of petty chieftains in the fight. For it is said, " Several victorious kings and chiefs whose fierce front ranks could capture the leaders (of the armies of their enemies) who discharged lances and swarmed in the fight, vowed (to help him) and so Mōgūr rushed to the battle, proud of his strength. The warriors (of Kuṭṭuvan) crowded so as to shake the assembled warriors, and reddened their hands with the blood (of Mōgūr's followers). The red blood spread on the ground, filled pits there as the stream does during the rains, and was filled with fallen corpses. They destroyed the land, sounded the spotted[52] drum, looted the country; and many inhabitants died. The feroacious Kuṭṭuvan then cut the strong neem-tree with black boughs."[53]

யொழுகை யுய்த்த கொழுவில் பைந்துணி
வைத்தலை மறந்த துய்த்தலைக் கூகை
கவலை கவற்றுங் குராலம் பறந்தலை
முரசுடைத் தாயத் தரசுபல வோட்டித்
துளங்குநீர் வியலக மாண்டினிது கழிந்த
மன்னர் மறைந்த தாழி
வன்னி மன்றத்து விளங்கிய காடே.

Padiṛ. 44. ll. 10-23

[52] The black mark on the side of the drum, caused by beating it with the wand is called its ' eye.'

[53] எஃகுதுரந் தெழுதருந கைகவர் கடுந்தார்
வெல்போர் வேந்தரும் வேளிரு மொன்றுமொழிந்து
மொய்வளஞ் செருக்கி மொசிந்துவரு மோகூர்
வலம்படு குழூஉநிலை யதிர மண்டி
நெய்த்தோர் தொட்ட செங்கை மறவர்
நிறம்படு குருதி நிலம்படர்ந் தோடி

Padiṛ. 49. ll. 6-17.

In Puṟam 369 Paraṇar has sung this Kuṭṭuvaṉ's fight, in the form of an allegory, where every incident of the battle is described as an incident of agricultural operations; but as the poem has only a literary and not a historical interest, it need not be quoted here.

Kuṭṭuvan Myths:

The Epilogue to the Fifth Ten contains allusions to several of Kuṭṭuvan's feats not referred to in the text. They are as follows:—"Desiring to get a stone for (making the image of) the goddess of chastity, he went like an arrow through forests where the wind blows, felled the Ārya king, bathed in the famous Ganges into which many streams flow, captured many cows and calves swarming there, camped in Iḍumbil, full of strong arrows, killed enemies like a tiger, pounded the town of Viyalūr full of clusters of lilies, went on the other side and destroyed Kodugūr, cut the trunk of the black-boughed neem tree guarded by Palayān, made ropes of the many tufts of black hair of many women who had discarded their bright ornaments (their husbands having been killed in the battle, they shaved their heads and cast aside their jewels) and with the ropes thus made yoked elephants to the cart, (for carrying the blocks of neem wood), encamped

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மழைநாட் புனலி னவற்பரந் தொழுகப்
படுபிணம் பிறங்கப் பாழ்பல செய்து
படுசண் முரச நடுவட் சிலைப்ப
வளனற நிகழ்ந்து வாழுநர் பலர்படக்
கருஞ்சினை விறல்வேம் பறுத்த
பெருஞ்சினக் குட்டுவன்.

Padiṟ. 49, ll. 6-17.

near (Nēri) Vāyil and killed nine princes belonging to the Śōḻa house in a terrible battle."[54]

The first four lines of this extract contain matter taken from the Śilappadigāram account of the expedition into North India of Śēran Śenguṭṭuvan, whom the writer of this Padigam, following the author of Śilappadigāram identifies with Kaḍalōṭṭiya Vēl Keḻu Kuṭṭuvan. The next five and the last four refer to fights not described in any of the early odes, but alluded to in Ślappadigāram; with this difference that he inverts the order of the incidents.[55] The other lines deal with the fight of the Śēra monarch with Paḻaiyan, but introduce the story of the elephants being made to pull the blocks of

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54 கடவுட் பத்தினிக் கற்கோள வேண்டிக்
கானவில் கானங் கணையிற் போகி
யாரிய வண்ணலை வீட்டிப் பேரிசை
யின்ப லருவிக் கங்கை மண்ணி
யினந்தெரி பல்லான் கன்றொடு கொண்டு
மாறா வல்வி லிடும்பிற் புறத்திறுத்
துறுபுலி யன்ன வயவர் வீழச்
சிறுகுர னெய்தல வியலூர் நூறி
யக்கரை நண்ணிக் கொடுகூ ரெறிந்து
பழையன் காக்குங் கருஞ்சினை வேம்பின்
முரரை முழுமுத றுமியப் பண்ணி
வாலிழை கழித்த நறும்பல் பெண்டிர்
பல்லிருங் கூந்தன் முரற்சியாற்
குஞ்சர வொழுகை பூட்டி வெந்திற
லாராச் செருவிற் சோழர்குடிக் குரியோ
ரொன்பதின்மர் வீழ வாயிற்புறத் திறுத்து.

Padiṟ. Padigam, 5th Ten, ll. 4-20

55 Vide Śil. xxviii. ll. 115-119 The war with the Śōḻa princes is alluded to also in Śil. xxvii. ll. 118-123.

neem timber with ropes made of women's hair. The introduction of this absurd detail vividly shows how men of a later generation tried to improve on a story coming down from old times, by letting loose their fancy and inventing stupid embellishments. Modern scholars are too prone to swallow every ridiculous legend, by giving it the name of 'tradition.' If the original poet had put in this thing in his poem, one might call it an excusable exaggeration by a flattering courtier; but if a commentator of several hundred years later puts it in, it must be due but to unlicensed fancy.

A digression on the "Mauryan invasion" of the Tamil country:

About fifteen years ago, M. Raghava Iyengar brought to light from the Agam Four hundred, then not yet printed, three passages in which the word 'Mōriyar' occurs. The chief passage says, "On the day of the shattering of the wear-front, when the Kōśar, who had decorated chariots fast as the wind, (flying) a flag of victory, unfastened and sounded the sweet-sounding drum in the assembly-place under the big boughs of the old wellgrown banyan tree, as Mōgūr did not submit, the mountain-pass shining with streams was lowered so that the wheel of the decorated chariot of the Mōriyar, who newly came as enemies with the elephant-brigade, might roll." [56] There is no means of knowing whether this

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[56] வெல்கொடித்
துனைகா லன்ன புனைதேர்க் கோசர்
தொன்மூ தாலத் தரும்பணைப் பொதியி
லின்னிசை முரசங் கடிப்பிகுத் திரங்கத்
தெம்முனை சிதைத்த ஞான்றை மோகூர்

arrogant Mōgūr was the same man as was punished by Kuṭṭuvan or merely a namesake of his; but this is certain that certain Mōriyar came as his enemies, sending Kośar in advance to demand his submission. The Kōśar were inhabitants of the Tuḷu country.[57] The

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பணியா மையிற் பகைதலை வந்த
மாகெழு தானை வம்ப மோரியர்
புனைதேர் நேமி யுருளிய குறைத்த
விலங்குவெள் ளருவிய வறைவாய்.

Agam. 251. ll. 6-14.

57 மெய்ம்மலி பெரும்பூட் செம்மற் கோசர்
கொம்மையம் பசுங்காய்க் குடுமி விளைந்த
பாக லார்கைப் பறைக்கட் பீலித்
தோகைக் காவிற் றுளுநாட் டன்ன

Agam 15, ll. 2-5.

"Like the Tulu country of the excellent Kōśar whose bodies are fully adorned with jewels, in whose forest the peacock, with spots like the side of a drum, pecks at the well-grown, magnificent, green jack-fruit (hanging from its) tuft-like stem." From this passage combined with another, which says, "who will part from you for earning wealth, even if thereby one would obtain the sevenfold hill, the fair land of Nannan of Koṇkāṇam?" S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar has inferred

கொண்கான நன்ன னன்னாட்
டேழிற் குன்றம் பெறினும் பொருள்வயின்
யாரே பிரிகிற் பவரே.

Naṟ. 391, ll. 6-7.

that the Tuḷu land or Koṇkāṇam was "the territory of Nannan" and "was broken into by a new people called Kōśar as the result of a war in which Nannan obviously suffered defeat, and lost his state-elephant." (Beginnings

Kōśar from the Tuḷu land kept making incursions into the Koṅgu land and founded Coimbatore (Kōyambuttūr, the new town of the Kōśar). North the Tuḷu land of the Kōśar lay the territory of the Mauryas, perhaps "descendants of some branch of the Maurya dynasty of Pāṭaliputra," and foes of Kīrtivarman I of the Cāḷukya dynasty (566 A. D. — 597 A. D. .[58] These Mauryas were the only possible Mōriyar, who in conjunction with the Kośar, could have attempted a raid into the Tamil country.

The authors of the odes in which the Mōriyar are mentioned were not concerned with the solitary, unimportant raid of the combined army of the Kōśar and the Mōriyar but only with the fact that the hill which was cut down for their chariots-wheels to roll along was a

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of South Indian History, pp 84-85). To prove the last clause, he quotes a passage, which means, "it is necessary to employ cruel stratagems like those of the Kōśar who stick to their vow and who cut off the sweet-smelling mango-tree of Nannan and took it to their land."

நறுமா கொன்று நாட்டிற் போக்கிய
வொன்றுமொழிக் கோசர் போல
வன்கட் சூழ்ச்சியும் வேண்டும்.

Kuṟ. 73 ll. 2-5.

The editor of Kuṟundogai explains 'naṟumā,' sweet-smelling mango tree, as 'state-elephant' and Krishnaswami Ayyangar accepts the interpretation, forgetting the word 'naṟu' and the fact that the Kōśar would have been fools if they had carried the corpse of an elephant to their country.

[58] Bom. Gaz. I. ii. p. 287.

distant one, beyond which the lover who was intent on earning wealth went.

The second passage dealing with this subject runs thus :— ' The hill which was lowered so that might roll the wheel, decorated with gold, of the Mōriyar whose chariot moved on the hill which was so tall as to reach the sky."[59] The third passage is by Māmulanār, the author of the first and says "In front went the Vaḍugar, strong fighters with arrows which fly fast with a roaring sound and cause pain when fitted to the edge of the string of the bow powerful enough to pierce the sky and adorned with the feathers shed by the languid-looking peacock which has a wobbling gait. So that the Mōriyar might reach the south, the cold black hill rising aloft to the sky was lowered for enabling the bright-felloed wheel to roll."[60] The Kōsar are called here Vadugar; the latter name, literally meaning 'Northerners', was used for all people who lived to the North

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[59] விண்பொரு நெடுவரை யியறேர் மோரியர்
பொன்புனை திகிரி திரிதரக் குறைத்த
அறை.

Agam. 69. ll. 10-12.

[60] ஒல்கியன் மடமயி லொழித்த பீலி
வான்போழ் வல்விற் சுற்றி நோன்சிலை
யவ்வார் விளிம்பிற் கமைந்த நொவ்வியற்
கணைகுர லிசைக்கும் விரைசெலற் சுருங்கணை
முரண்மிகு வடுகர் முன்னுற மோரியர்
தென்றிசை மாதிர முன்னிய வரவிற்கு
விண்ணுற வோங்கிய பனியிருங் குன்றத்
தொண்கதிர்த் திகிரி யுருளிய குறைத்த
அறை.

Agam. 281, ll. 4-12.

of the Tamils, viz., the Telugus, the Kannaḍas and the Tuḷus.

The last passage about the Mōriyar is found in Puṟam and refers to "the mountain-pass which forms the corridor of the world, which was lowered so that might roll the strong-felloed wheel of the Mōriyar, who possessed a victorious spear, a tall umbrella which reached the sky and a chariot on which flew the flag."[61]

The theory of the "Mauryan invasion of India" in the reign of Chandragupta or Bindusāra rests on these four passages. Possibly as a prop for the theory, S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar assumes that these passages are "ascribable to the first century of the Christain era,"[62] and says that "there is enough internal evidence to show that Māmūlanār was the exact contemporary of the chola ruler, Karikāla."[63] He does not tell us what that "internal evidence" is. He alludes to the fact that when Peruñjēral Ādan, the foe of Karikāl, committed suicide, his courtiers heard of it and they also committed suicide.[64] This will make Māmūlanār belong to an age later, how much later we cannot say, than Karikāl. As a matter of fact Māmūlanār speaks in many odes as the contemporary, not of any of the kings referred to in

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[61] வென்வேல்
விண்பொரு நெடுங்குடைக் கொடித்
தேர் மோரியர்
திண்கதிர்த் திகிரி திரிதரக் குறைத்த
வுலக விடைகழி யறைவாய்.
Puṟ. 175 ll. 5-8.

[62] Beginning of South Indian History, p. 85.

[63] Ib. p. 87.

[64] Vide p. 483 supra.

Chapters XX, XXI, and XXIII and in this chapter, but of the numerous chieftains that rose to power after the decline of the three Tamil dynasties at the end of the V century A. D. and is hence the latest of the galaxy of poets whose poems are included in the early anthologies.

S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar also makes the tide of Mauryan invasion reach "Madura and the Podiyil hill."[65] This conclusion is due to a misunderstanding of the word 'podiyil' in the passage quoted above.[66] 'Podiyil' cannot mean 'Podiyil hill' in any of the passages referring to their appearance, for the 'podiyil' where they appear was under an old, well-grown banyan tree, a position too cramped for the hill where the deathless Agastya and his disciples are residing.

Before closing the discussion I will quote two more passages from the many odes referring to the Kōśar in early Tamil literature, because they have a bearing on the question. The first again is a simile, which means, "like the vow of the Kōśar of Nallūr, who appeared in the assembly beneath the old well-grown banyan tree, where the god resides, while drums were sounded and chank-shells were blown."[67] All these references are only to one event—the appearance of the Kōśar with dramatic suddenness as the advance-guard of the Mōriyar. The other passage says, "As the four-tongued Kōśar appeared in the assembly place of

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65 Beginnings of South Indian History p. 87.

66 Vide p. 520 supra.

67 பறைபடப் பணில மார்ப்ப விறைகொள்பு
தொன்மூ தாலத்துப் பொதியிற் றோன்றிய
நல்லூர்க் கோசர் நன்மொழி போல. Kuṟ. 15. ll.

Palaiyan's Mōgūr, where the crops never fail, because the rains never cease."[68] 'Four-tongued' apparently means that they could speak four languages, Tuḷu, Kannaḍı, Telugu, and Tamil; these four languages can be heard even to-day in the streets of Coimbatore. The commentator rearranges the phrase as மொழி நால் கோசர், 'the four kinds of Kōśar, who stick to their vows'. This is a forced interpretation; moreover the division of the Kōśar into four kinds is unknown otherwise.

Other Śēra notables:

The Padirruppattu deals with many other Śēra notables and the Puṟam refers to some more. They possess some of the following titles, Poṟaiyan, Malaiyan, Vānavan, Imayavaramban, Kuṭṭuvan, Kōdai, and Villavan They were not monarchs and the poems dealing with them have no historicaı, but only a biographical, interest; so these chiefs need not be referred to here.

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[68] மழை யொழுக் கறுஅப் பிழையா விளையுட்
பழையன் மோகூ ரவையகம் விளங்க
நான்மொழிக் கோசர் தோன்றி யன்ன.

Maduraikkāñji ll. 507-589.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE ECLIPSE OF THE EARLY DYNASTIES.

The last Pāṇḍiya and Śōḷa Kings :

It is significant that the commentator on Iṟaiyanār Agapporuḷ makes Ukkirapperuvaḻudi the last of the Pāṇḍiyas who maintained a Śaṅgam. From this we may deduce that probably some misfortune temporarily cut off the ancient line of the Pāṇḍiyas. Irāśasūyam Vēṭṭa Perunaṟkiḷḷi, according to the colophon attached to Puṟam 367, was a friend of Ukkirapperuvaḻudi. Probably with this Perunaṟ Kiḷḷi the Śōḷa line too was interrupted, for the poets that sang after the age of these kings, like the author of Śiṟupāṇāṟṟuppaḍai, did not sing in praise of of Pāṇḍiya or Śōḷa kings but of minor chieftains who seem to have risen to prominence after the decline of these ancient dynasties; and when they do refer to the traditional kingdoms of the Śōḷas or the Pāṇḍiyas, like the authors of Kalittogai, they speak generally of kings and do not name any reigning monarch. We may therefore believe that some catastrophe threw into the shade the power of these ancient dynasties at about the time of these two kings.

The rise to popularity of the Jaina and Bauddha cults :

The Ārya cults, especially the Bauddha and the Jaina ones, were practised in the outskirts of the town in the time of Neḍuñjeḻiyan.[1] The old Tamil cults were the main ones patronized by kings. In 470

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[1] Vide p. 452 Supra.

A. D. however, a Jaina congregation was, apparently established in the city of Madura. [2] As this fact has been specially recorded by a Jaina writer, we may take it that this was a case of an Aryan cult first finding royal favour and attaining to a position of prominence in the Tamil land.

To this may be added another fact that a similar high position was accorded to the Bauddha cult in the city of Kāvirippaṭṭinam about the same time. In the last quarter of the V century A. D. Buddhadatta, elder contemporary Buddhaghoṣa, composed Bauddha works in the Śōḻa country. In the concluding lines of his Abhidhammāvatāra, he says, "In the lovely Kāveripaṭṭana, crowded with hordes of men and women not belonging to impure castes, endowed richly with all the requisites of a town, with crystal-clear water flowing in the river, filled with all kinds of precious stones, possessed of many kinds of bazaars, beautified with many gardens, (and) in a beautiful and pleasant monastery adorned with a mansion as high as the peak of Kailāsa, built by Kaṇhadāsā, having different kinds of beautiful entrance-towers in its outer wall, while I was living in an old house there, by me who am shining with qualities, such as writing beautifully on good topics, who am intelligent and good and a beggar, this was composed and propounded extensively."[3] After the closing benedictory lines, some

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[2] Vide p. 247 supra.

[3] Nara nārīgaṇākiṇṇe asaṅkiṇṇa kulākule
Phīte sabbaṅga sampanne pasanna saritūdake
Nānāratana sampuṇṇe vividhāpaṇa saṅkate
Kāverīpaṭṭane ramme nānārāmo 'pasobhite

later writer has added the colophon, 'This work named Abhidhammāvātara was composed by Bhadanta Buddhadatta Ācariya, inhabitant of Uragapuram (Uṛaiyūr).[4]

In the closing passage of the Vinayavinicchaya, Buddhadatta says, "In the undisturbed town of Bhūtamaṅgala, containing all kinds of people, which was the navel of the great Cōḷa kingdom, and filled with groves of plantains, salwood, palmyra, and cocoanuts, shining with tanks densely covered with lotuses and lilies and whose soil is sanctified by the flowing waters of the Kāverī, blessed with prosperity and all the requisites of a town, in the beautiful and pleasant monastery, surrounded by well-built outer walls and moat, belonging to Veṇhudāsa, brilliant with vānīra trees lining the banks (of the river), rejoicing the mind with many gardens filled with different kinds of birds, adorned with tanks thickly enveloped with pleasing lotuses, beautified with excellent wells full of sweet water, filled with excellent maṇḍapas, well-built, wide, white, very bright with many houses, the surface of the earth being broken by tall stūpas which outrivalled and derided the rough peaks of Kailāsa, and were high, beautiful, and bright

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Kelāsa sikarākāra pāsāda pati maṇḍite
Kārite kaṇhadāsena dassanīye manorame
Vihāra vividhākāracāru pākāra gopure
Tatha pācīnapāsāde mayā nivasatā satā
Ramma sallekha sākhalya sīladi guṇa sobhinā
Ayam sumatinā sādhu yācitena kato tato.

Abhidhammāvatāra. Śl. 1409-1413.

[4] Uragapura nivāsikena Ācariyena bhadanta Buddhadattena kato Abhidhammāvatāro nāmāyam. By 'inhabitant of Uragapura' is probably meant a native of that city.

like autumn clouds, by me who lived (there) in a mansion which clarifies the mind, was composed in honour of Buddhasimha this compilation on the principles of Vinaya taught by Buddhasimha, for the sake of my pupils and for the good of the Bhikkhus who want to learn the Vinaya in a short time without difficulty. It was begun and finished during the reign of the blemishless Accuta Vikkanta of the Kalabbha kula."[5]

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[5] Seṭṭhassa Coḷaraṭṭhassa nābhibhūte nirākule
Sabbassa pana lokassa gāme sampiṇḍite viya
Kadalīsālatālucchunālikeravanākule
Kamaluppalasañchannasalilāsayasobhite
Kāverijalasampātaparipūtamahītale
Iddhe sabbaṅgasampānne maṅgale Bhūtamaṅgale
Pavarākārapākāraparikhāparivārite
Vihāre Veṇhudāsassa dassanīye manorame
Tīrantaruhavānīratarurājivirājite
Nānādijagaṇārāme nānārāmamanorame
Cārupaṅkajasaṅkiṇṇataḷākasamalaṅkate
Surasodakasampuṇṇavarakūpopasobhite
Uggatena ca thūpena bhetvā va dharanītalam
Jitvā v' avahasantena Khelāsasikharamkharam
Saradambudasaṅkāse dassanīye sammussite
Pasādajanane ramme pāsāde vasatā mayā
Vuttassa Buddhasīhena Vinayassa Vinicchayo
Buddhasīham samuddissa mama saddhivihārikam
Kato' yam pana bhikkhūnam hitatthāya samāsato
Vinayassāvabodhattham sukhen'evācirena ca
Accut' Accutavikkante Kalabbhakulanandane
Mahim samanusāsante āraddho ca samāpito.

Vinayavinicchaya śl. 3168—3179.

Inferences from Buddhadatta's testimony:

From the two passages taken from Buddhadatta's works, printed under the editorship of his modern namesake, A. P. Buddhadatta of Ceylon (the first in 1915 and the second in 1928), we see that in the last quarter of the V century A. D., when the ancient Buddhadatta lived and taught, Kāvirippūmbaṭṭinam was a very prosperous city, crowded with people, full of precious things and bazaars. This description of Kāvirippūmbaṭṭinam incidentally proves that the destruction of the city by the sea, and its desertion by its inhabitants, described in the Maṇimēgalai (xxv. ll. 199-204.) is either pure romance or took place sometime after the V century. Rapid must have been the advance to popularity of the Bauddha cult in Kāvirippaṭṭinam since Karikāl's time, for fine monasteries to be built by lay admirers like Kaṇhadāsa. The king who overthrew the Śōḷa dynasty must have also been an admirer of the Bauddha cult and actively encouraged the building of monasteries for its monks. This king, who is called Accuta Vikkanta in the Vinaya vinicchaya apparently ruled over the whole of the Śōḷa territory, for we find monasteries built also inland at Bhūtamaṅgala. The modern representative of this town is Būdalūr near Trichinopoly.[6] The region immediately north of this village fits in with the description of Buddhadatta. In the region near, served by the road which leads from Tanjore to Nāmakkal, numerous relics of the Bauddha and the Jaina cults have been unearthed. Till recently this region contained great centres of Aryan learning.

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[6] I owe this idea to K. R. Subrahmania Iyer of Vijayanagaram.

Accuta Vikkanta belonged to the Kalabbha dynasty. The printed text prefers the reading Kaḷambha because I suppose the editor had heard of the Kadamba dynasty and not of the Kalabbhas, but the Kadambas ruled at far Banavāse nor were they Bauddhas. Kalabbha, the alternative reading, has been adopted by me, because at about this time ruled a great king of the Kaḷappa clan and the Tamil name Kaḷappa naturally become Kalabbha in Pali.

In Tamil literature there is mention of ancient Kaḷappa kings and a Kaḷappa clan as existing till comparatively recent times. The father of Meygaṇḍadēvar, the founder of the modern Tamil Śaivam in the thirteenth century, was called Accuda kaḷappāḷar. This fact directed my attention to the Kaḷappāla clan and led me to note that the Accuta Kaḷabbha of Buddhadatta must have belonged to this Tamil clan.

In the Tamiḻ Nāvalar śaridai[7], p. 56, there occur four veṇbās, said to have been composed, the first by a Śēran, the second by a Śōḻan, and the other two by a Pāṇḍiyan, all of whom were put in chains, as the colophon informs us, by one Accuda Kaḷappāḷan. The first runs as follows:—"The Tinai seeds will be drying in the front yards of those who grow the Tinai; the front yards of those who raise the fair paddy will be filled with those (grains). In the front yards of Accudan are waiting kings who possess the strong chariot-brigade, while the drums roar and the chank is blown."[8]

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[7] I have referred to this book in p. 414 ante as Tamiḻ Nāvaḻar varalāṟu; though varalāṟu and śaridai are synonyms the above is the usual name of the book.

[8] தினைவிளைத்தார் முற்றந் தினையுணங்குஞ் செந்நெல்
தனைவிளைத்தார் முற்றமது தானுங் —[illegible]னைசீர்

The second stanza, by a Śōḻa king, runs as follows:—On the day when in the front yard of Accudan, the forehead-mark of the royal dynasty, (the bright mark on the forehead is the most prominent feature of the face) kings were reborn (restored to sovereignty ?), the noise of the striking off of the gyves from the legs of kings drowned that of the beating of the drums."[9] The first stanza sung by the Pāṇḍiyan was :—" Where can there be men without distress? Irāman of the sharp spear waited for a whole six months in the hill belonging to the younger brother of Vāli. Accordingly (I am waiting) before Accudan whose army is roaring and garland waving." As the Pāṇḍiyan, by comparing himself to Irāman and Accudan to the monkey-follower of Irāman, insulted the Kaḷappāḷa monarch, the latter doubled the Pāṇḍiyan's fetters; so the Pāṇḍiyan sang again :—" Accudan, of the Southern Tillai, the drum roaring in front of you was called the western ocean by the people of Kuḍagu, and the northern ocean by those to the left of them; people living on the borders of the north sea called it the south sea."[10] The Southern Tillai, where

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முரசுணங்கச் சங்குணங்கு மூரித்தேர்த்தானை
அரசுணங்கு மச்சுதன் முற்றத்து.

[9] அரசு குலதிலக னச்சுதன்முற் றத்தில்
அரச ரவதரித்த வந்நாள் — முரசதிரக்
கொட்டிவிடு மோசையினுங் கோவேந்தர் காற்றளையை
வெட்டிவிடு மோசை மிகும்.

[10] குறையுளா ரெங்கிரார் கூர்வே லிராமன்
நிறையாறு திங்க ளிருந்தான் - முறைமையால்
ஆலிக்குந் தானை யலங்குதா ரச்சுதமுன்
வாலிக் கிளையான் வரை.
குடகர் குணகடலென் றார்த்தார் குடகர்க்

these kings were assembled, is Chidambaram, where the coronation of Śōḻa monarchs was celebrated since they were Aryanized. Probably Accudan started this fashion, the temple of Chidambaram having by his time obtained a reputation for holiness.

This Accuda Kaḷāppāḷan must be the same as Accuta Kaḷabbha of Buddhadatta. For the Pāṇḍiyas again rose to power at the end of the VI century, and the Pallavas having recovered Kāñcī in the middle of that century, we can find room for a Kaḷappa who was overlord of the whole of the Tamil country only between 450 A. D., and 550 A. D. It is not a valid objection to say that the same monarch could not have patronized the Śaiva, Bauddha, and Jaina cults and got himself crowned at the Śiva temple at Tillai, and supported the Bauddha Vihāras in the Śōḻa territory and the Draviḍa Jaina Saṅgam at Madura. In the early days when the Ārya cults spread in South India, there was little animosity amongst them. Their quarrels began only after 600 A. D., when sectarian rivalry was first born. Mahendra Vikrama Pallava built stone-temples to the Jina, to Śiva, to Viṣṇu and to the Trimūrti. It was in his time that we hear of the first quarrel between Jainas and Śaivas. A century later we notice Vaiṣṇavas deriding Śiva and Śaivas speaking of Viṣṇu without respect, but before 600 A. D. when the followers of the Aryan cults were gaining mastery we do not hear of their opposing each other. We may

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இடவர் வடகடலென் றார்த்தார் — வடகடல்
தென்கடலென் றார்த்தார் தென்றில்லையச்சு
தாநின்றன்
முன் கடைநின் றார்க்கு முரசு.

therefore take it that Accuda Kaḷappāla and Accuta Kaḷabbha were one and the same person.

The Vēḷvikkuḍi grant, discussed in chapter xxiii tells us that a cruel king, called Kaḷabhra, i. e., of the Kaḷabhra clan (because both the forms Kaḷabhran and Kaḷabhrar occur indiscriminately), defeated many ādirājas, original (Tamil) monarchs, and established his sway over Madura, among other Tamil districts. Since the Pali Kaḷabbha will invariably become Kalabhra in Sanskrit, it follows that the Kalabhra king of the Vēḷvikuḍi charter is identical with Accuta Kaḷabbha and Accuda Kaḷappāḷa. Notwithstanding the completness of Accuta Kaḷabbha's subjugation of the Tamil country, the old dynasties were not extirpated. The Pāṇḍiyas regained their greatness under Kaḍungōn before 600 A. D ; and Coḷas, Cēras, Pāṇḍiyas and Kaḷabhras are mentioned for two centuries later, in several inscriptions, as the foes first of the Pallavas and then of the Cāḷukyas.

The Kaḷappāḷas were Tamil chieftains, as is proved by the fact that the three Rājas sang to them in Tamil. They were completely Aryanized because they encouraged the Aryan cults; and the Aryan cults which had been besieging the out-skirts of Tamil culture for many centuries dramatically captured the Tamil imagination from the time when the three old dynasties, patrons of the old order of things, collapsed before the might of Accuta.

Were the Kalabhras Kaḻḻar?

S. Krishnaswami Iyengar has given his support to the theory that the Kaḷabhras were the Kaḻḻar of old Tamil poetry. Kaḻḻar has an alternative form Kaḷvar,

and Kaḷvar, being usually written in ancient mss, without the dot on the head of ḷ, became kaḷavar, which turned into kaḷabar, kaḷabara, kaḷabhara, and ultimately into kaḷabhra. But since Kaḷabbha has been discovered in a Pali poem, we need not resort to this ingenious etymology; all the more so, because there is no evidence that the kaḷvar were anything more than petty chieftains in old times.

A note on Kalappāḷar:

A number of Kaḷappāḷar besides the father of Meygaṇda dēvar has been traced in Tamil literature. One Neṛkunṛam kiḻān, a Kaḷappāḷa raja has been brought to our notice by S. Sōmasundara Dēśigar in an inscription[11] which he discovered sixteen years ago. Kūṛṛuva Nāyanār, one of the Sixty three Śaiva Śaints is called a Kaḷappāḷan by Nambiyāṇḍār Nambi (X century) in his Tiruttoṇḍar Tiruvandādi.[12] This person is called Kaḷandai Mudalvanār, 'lord of Kaḷandai' by Śēkkiḻār (XI century),[13] and Kaḷandai Vēndar, king of Kaḷandai (Periyapurāṇam, Kūṛṛuvanāyanār Puraṇam, st. 1, l. 4) and Kaḷandai in Umāpati Śivām's Tiruttoṇḍar Purāṇa śāram. From this we may infer that the Kaḷappāḷar originally belonged to Kaḷandai, a well-known Śiva shrine in the Tanjore district. Probably the suffix āḷar is the same as the suffix of the Tamil word Andaṇāḷar, a formation from andaṇar, the Tamil word for Brāhmaṇa, for which several fanciful etymologies, none very convincing, have been invented by the commentators. Kaḷappāḷar, then, is a variant of Kaḷappa, which became Kaḷabbha in Pali and Kaḷabhra in (Southern) Sanskrit.

[11] Śendamiḻ. Vol. xii. p. 268.
[12] St. 47, l. 4.
[13] St. 44, l. 1.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE LATER OF THE TEN SONGS.

The Remaining Six Songs:

Four of the poems gathered together under the name of Pattuppāṭṭu have been already discussed. The other six are later and belong to the VI century A. D. This is proved by the fact that the references in those poems to Aryan concepts are not of the nature of passing allusions to semi-foreign beliefs, just working their way into the Tamil mind, but indicate ideas that had taken root in the Tamil scheme of life and were fast smothering out the old Tamil notions. Moreover these poems were not sung in honour of great victors like Karikāl or Iḷandiraiyan or Neduñjeḻiyan but either of the minor chiefs who had gained power on account of the eclipse of the three dynasties or of the god Murugan or of no one person in particular. These poems, moreover, seem to have been composed with Tolkāppiyanār's rules of poetics prominently in view; that is, they are not the outcome of poetic genius working spontaneously, as in Homer's Epics and the early Greek Dramas from which Aristotle inferred the principles of epic or dramatic poetry, but, like the French classical drama of the XVII century, consciously based on the poetical canons of Aristotle and Horace. Not that the old Tamil poetic flame is obscured; it shines with all the old effulgence, but the muse moves under the control of the reins forged by the critic. This will be illustrated in the succeeding sections.

"The long, good winterwind.":

According to the commentator, Naccinārkkiniyar, this poem was composed by Nakkīrar in honour of Neḍuñjeḻiyan. But in the text of the poem, this king is not mentioned. The hero is "a king. (Vēndan) who did not sleep even at midnight, but wandered round his camp accompanied by some (followers), when he was encamped in his war with many (foes)"[1] "He carried a strong spear round whose top margosa leaves were tied."[2] It is a bold inference from this description that the hero was Neḍuñjeḻiyan, the victor of Talaiyālaṅgānam. The object of the poem is to describe the sorrows of the king's wife on account of her separation from her husband and her prayer to Koṟṟavai, the old Tamil goddess of war, to bless her husband with victory, so that he might return soon to her arms. Though thus the queen prays to the Tamil goddess, it is plain that the poem was composed after Aryan concepts had definitely established themselves in the life of the Tamils. Not remote but intimate references to Aryan culture abound in the poem. Thus the śāstra of architecture is mentioned. "Men learned in the (Śilpa) Śāstra stretched a thin thread, marked the directions of the compass, located correctly the gods of the various directions, and set out the plan of a house fit for famous

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[1] நள்ளென் யாமத்தும் பள்ளிகொள்ளான்
சிலரொடு திரிதரும் வேந்தன்
[illegible]ரொடு முரணிய பாசறைத் தொழிலே,
Neḍ. ll. 186-188.

[2] வேம்புதலை யாத்த நோன்கா ழெஃகமொடு.
Neḍ. l. 176.

kings."[3] The part of the wall into which the top of the doorframe is let, called uttara kaṛkavi is the subject of an astronomical pun in a certain line, which speaks of a "beam named after the star, to which the door-frame is fitted."[4] The star referred to is Uttaram and the beam is also called uttaram. The royal chamber in the interior of the palace, like the sanctum sanctorum of a temple, is called garbhagṛha, literally the womb of the house, or rather the house that is the womb; and garbha is in Tamil karu. So the royal chamber is called "the chamber, fair to the sight, named after the womb."[5] In another place forty is rendered by a compound of the Sanskrit daśa and the Tamil nāngu.[6] The signs of the zodiac, are described as "having as the first, the ram with strongly fixed horns."[7] Āḍu is the translation of mēṣam which is itself the translation of Greek Aries. In another place, the constellation, Rohiṇī, is named in its Tamil form Urōhiṇi.[8] Notwithstanding this intrusion

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[3] நூலறி புலவர் நுண்ணிதிற் கயிறிட்டுத்
தேஎங் கொண்டு தெய்வ நோக்கிப்
பெரும்பெயர் மன்னர்க் கொப்ப மனைவகுத்து.
Neḍ. ll. 76-78.

[4] நாளொடுப் பெயரிய கோளமை விழுமரத்து.
Neḍ. l. 82.

[5] கருவொடு பெயரிய காண்பி னல்லில்,
Neḍ. l. 114.

[6] தசநான்கு.
Neḍ. l. 115.

[7] திண்ணலை மருப்பி னாடுதலை யாக.
Neḍ. l. 160.

[8] Neḍ. l. 163.

of Aryan ideas, Tamil poetry still keeps up the old spirit of realism in descriptions. Thus "the clouds, true to the seasons, chilled the world and circled round the hills and poured the new rain. The herdsmen, who wielded the cruel wand, hated the flood, and let the crowds of cattle, male and female, graze on the higher lands, sorrowfully giving up their usual grazing grounds. The garlands made of the long petals (of the November flower) were ruined by the fall of the rain. The men suffered much from cold; all of them carried torches in their hands but their teeth were chattering like drums. The beasts gave up their grazing; the monkeys shivered, The birds dropped from the trees. The cows would not admit their calves to their teats but kicked them off." [9] Now for winter scenery. "The white flower, with rounded back, of the thin creeper, muśuṇḍai (Iponaea candicans) and the gold-coloured flower of the pīrkku gourd bloomed on every thicket. The carp swam against the fast-flowing current. On the temporary cessation of rain, swarms of the yellow legged crane whose feathers were fine and the heron with red streaks on its body, ate the

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[9] வையகம் பனிப்ப வலனேர்பு வளைஇப்
பொய்யா வானம் புதுப்பெயல் பொழிந்தென
வார்கலி முனைஇய கொடுங்கோள் கோவல
ரேறுடை யினநிரை வேறுபுலம் பரப்பிப்
புலம்பெயர் புலம்பொடு கலங்கிக் கோட
னீடிதழ்க் கண்ணி நீரலைக் கலாவ
மெய்க்கொள் பெரும்பனி நலியப் பலருடன
கைக்கொள் கொள்ளியர் கவுள்புடையூஉ நடுங்க
மாமேயன் மறப்ப மந்தி கூரப்
பறவை படிவன வீழக் கறவை
கன்றுகோ ளொழிய,

Neḍ. ll. 1-11.

carp where the wet white sand was mixed with the black clay. The rising white cloud from the broad sky drizzled. The stalks of paddy with shining leaves rose bending above the water which filled the broad, beautiful fields. The areca nuts ripened and looked as if they were swollen with the clear water inside them, as they appeared in clusters on the broad spathe of the areca palm whose base is thick and neck like sapphire. The tops of the trees of the large forests were filled thick with blossoms."[10]

"The Song of the pastoral region":

The Mullaippāṭṭu sings of the suffering of the love-lorn wife during the spring season, when her husband was away on a military expedition. The author Nappūdanār does not give us any indication about his hero, except

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[10] புன்கொடி முசுண்டைப் பொறிப்புற வான்பூப்
பொன்போற் பீரமொடு புதற்புதன் மலரப்
பைங்காற் கொக்கின் மென்பறைத் தொழுதி
யிருங்களி பரந்த வீர வெண்மணற்
செவ்வரி நாரையோ டெவ்வாயுங் கவரக்
கயலற வெதிரக் கடும்புனற் சாஅய்ப்
பெயலுலந் தெழுந்த பொங்கல் வெண்மழை
யகலிரு விசும்பிற் றுவலை கற்ப
வங்க ணகல்வய லார்பெயற் கலித்த
வண்டோட்டு நெல்லின் வருகதிர் வணங்க
முழுமுதற் கமுகின் மணியுற ழெருத்திற்
கொழுமட லவிழ்ந்த குழூஉக்கொள் பெருங்குலை
நுண்ணீர் தெவிள வீங்கிப் புடைதிரண்டு
தெண்ணீர்ப் பசுங்காய் சேறுகொள முற்ற
நளிகொள் சிமைய விரவுமலர் வியன்கா.

Neḍ. ll. 13-27.

that he employed yavanas and mlecchas among others and hence many languages were heard in his camp. In this poem also, the Aryan allusions are not casual but intimate. Thus the black god Māyōn of the ancient Tamils has been so fully identified with Viṣṇu that the cloud is said to be "like Māl who holds in his large hands the discus and the right-whorled chank, in whose breast resides Lakṣmī, and who rose up after water was poured into his hand (by Mahābali)."[11] Another simile refers to the Brāhmaṇa ascetic carrying a triple wand with his cloth dyed with (ochre) stone tied to it and wearing a similar cloth on his person.[12] Certain interesting facts connected with ancient Tamil life we learn from this poem. One Tamil way of reading the future was to go to the outskirts of the villages and listen to words casually uttered by people there and prognosticating the future therefrom Thus "We went to the suburbs of the well-guarded ancient town; elderly ladies carried a small measure (nāḻi) of paddy and sweet-smelling Mullai flowers round which crowds of bees were humming with a sound similar to that of the Yāḻ, and scattered them, and worshipped God and we waited for an omen. The cowherdess, shaking with the cold, held her arms tight on her shoulders. The calf, distressfully held by a short string, did not take to the teats of its dam, and turned round. She saw the sight and said, 'The herdsmen

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11 நேமியொடு
வலம்புரி பொறித்த மாதாங்கு தடக்கை
நீர்செல நிமிர்ந்த மாஅல் போல.
Mul. ll. 1-3.

12 கற்றோய்த் துடுத்த படிவப் பார்ப்பான்
முக்கோல லசைநிலை கடுப்ப.
Mul. ll. 37-38.

holding the cruel stick will drive the cow and your dam will come soon.' We heard this auspicious speech and decided that our lord would seize the enemy's territory and receive tribute and return after finishing the work undertaken by him. This is truth.'[13]

The author of Mullaippāṭṭu describes nature quite as well as other poets. "The flowers of the kāyā (Memecylon tinctorium) which grows on sand and is thickly overgrown with leaves. open out and look like collyrium. The cassia, which bears tender leaves and clusters, sheds (its flowers, which are like) good gold. The closed buds of the kōḍal (white variety of the November flower) open out like the palm of the hand. The rounded red lily flowers (red like) blood. In the broad red plain filled with shrubs, the stalks of ragi on which good rain has fallen in the month of the early dew when it will drizzle white, bend and

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[13] அருங்கடி மூதூர் மருங்கிற் போகி
யாழிசை யினவண் டார்ப்ப நெல்லொடு
நாழிகொண்ட நறுவீ முல்லை
யரும்பவி ழலரி தூஉய்க் கைதொழுது
பெருமுது பெண்டிர் விரிச்சி நிற்பச்
சிறுதாம்பு தொடுத்த பசலைக் கன்றி
னுறுதுய ரலமர னோக்கி யாய்மக
ணடுங்குசுவலசைத்த கையள் கைய
கொடுங்கோற் கோவலர் பின்னின் றுய்த்தர
வின்னே வருகுவர் தாய ரென்போ
ணன்னர் நன்மொழி கேட்டன மதனால்
னல்ல நல்லோர் வாய்ப்புட் டெவ்வர்
முனைகவர்ந்து கொண்ட திறையர் வினைமுடித்து
வருத றலைவர் வாய்வது.

Mul. ll. 7-20.

(in the ragi field), the stag which has twisted horns will gambol with the hind."[14]

From this poem we learn that in royal camps hours or rather the watches of the day were announced by the ringing of bright bells with large tongues[15] and time was calculated by means of water-clocks.[16] Dumb mlacchas were employed as body-guards round the tent of the sleeping king.[17]

"The Song of the Hilly Region":

The commentator Naccinārkkiniyar says that the Kuṛiñjippāṭṭu was composed by Kabilar for teaching (the principles of) Tamil poetry to the Aryan king Pirahattan. This it might well be, for this poem was

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14 அயிர
செறியிலைக் காயா வஞ்சன மலர
முறியிணர்க் கொன்றை நன்பொன் காலக்
கோடற் குவிமுகை யங்கை யவிழத்
தோடார் தோன்றி குருதி பூப்பக்
கான நந்திய செந்நிலப் பெருவழி
வானம் வாய்த்த வாங்கு கதிர் வரகிற்
றிருமரு பிரலையொடு மடமா னுகள
வெதிர்செல் வெண்மழை பொழியுந் திங்களின்.
Mul. ll. 92-101.

15 நெடுநா வொண்மணி நிழற்றிய நடுநாள்.
Mul. l. 50.

16 குறுநீர்க் கன்ன லினைத்தென் றிசைப்ப.
Mul. l. 58.

17 உடம்பி னுரைக்கு முரையா நாவிற்
படம்புகு மிலேச்ச ருழை யாக.
Mul. ll. 65-66.

not sung in honour of any god or king or patron of letters, but was intended to illustrate most of Tolkāppiyanār's rules regarding the Kuṛiñji class of poems. All other poems we have discussed so far, to whatever class of poems they belonged, were primarily intended to eulogize somebody or other and only incidentally illustrated the rules of poetics; but this is the first long poem which regarded grammar as a prescriptive and not descriptive science and was composed in obedience to the rules of the critic. After this time, numerous poems were composed not as the poet's genius guided him, but with Agattiyanār's or Tolkāppiyanār's grammar set as the authoritative guide for the poet.

The poem probably belongs to the end of the VI century. The Aryan allusions are sufficiently intimate to support this view. Thus "even the aiyar (ṛṣis, or holy ascetics, in later ages used as the title of lay Brāhmaṇas) who are learned in the ancient śāstras and whose mental vision is not clouded by defects, cannot reattain to their former status, once they lose the qualities, excellences and conduct pertaining (to their caste), even though they wash out (their sins)."[14] This shows that the Aryan caste-system and the Aryan Dharma śāstras had become guiding factors in the conduct of the life of the Tamils when the poem was composed. Another Aryan doctrine is referred to, when the heroine consoles herself with

[14] சால்பும் வியப்பு மியல்புங் குன்றின்
மாசறக் கழீஇ வயங்குபுகழ் நிறுத்த
லாசறு காட்சி யையர்க்கு மந்நிலை
யெளிய வென்னார் தொன்மருங் கறிஞர்.

Kuṛi. ll. 15-18.

the hope, "In the other world, (i. e., the next rebirth) I will join my lover."[15] Another Aryan allusion is to the evening rites of Brāhmaṇas.[16] An adumbration of the exaggeration which caught hold of Tamil poetry, under the influence of the later artificial poetry of Sanskrit, is found when the poet speaks of "the clouds which move in crowds high (in the sky), after having reduced, by drinking, the quantity of the water of the full, broad sea, and thundered with a sweet sound, like a drum gently beaten."[17]

In view of its character of a poem intended to illustrate the rules of the grammar of poetry, the author gives an absolutely unpoetical list, quite like a florists' catalogue, of nearly a hundred flowers of the Kuṛiñji region. Not that the poet is wanting in true poetic fire; witness his description of the evening. "The many-rayed sun, in his chariot to which seven horses are yoked, has ridden (all day in the sky) and has reached the horizon and disappeared behind the hill. The deer have crowded at the feet of trees. The herds of cows, crying for their calves have entered all over the village common. The nightingale, who has a bent mouth, sounding like the trumpet, from the broad leaf

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15 ஏனை யுலகத்து மியைவதா னமக்கென.

Ib. l. 24.

16 அந்தி யந்தண ரயர.

Ib. l. 235.

17 நிறையிரும் பௌவங் குறைபட முகந்துகொண்டு

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முரசதிர்ந் தன்ன வின்குர லேற்றொடு
நிரைசெல லிவப்பிற் கொண்மூ.

Kuṛi. l. 47, ll. 49-50.

of the tall palmyra, calls (her mate). The serpent vomits out its gem (to enable it to eat). Herdsmen from many directions play on their sweet fair flute the tune called Āmbal. The lily opens out its beautiful petals. Brāhmaṇas perform their evening rites. In the houses of the wealthy, women who wear bright bangles light the lamp and do other evening duties. The foresters, in their lofts which reach the sky, make fire from the fire-churn and light their fires. The clouds that surround great hills turn black. The beasts in the jungle cry to each other. The birds cry."[18] Two beautiful poetical images may also be quoted to show the talent of the poet. "My plaited black hair falling down on the small back, looking like the sapphire set on gold," [19] "Like the heroes who wield spears and have

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[18] எல்லை செல்ல வேழூர் பிறைஞ்சிப்
பல்கதிர் மண்டிலங் கல்சேர்பு மறைய
மான்கண மாமுதற் றெவிட்ட வான்கணங்
கன்றுபயிர் குரல மன்றுநிறை புகுதர
வேங்குவயி ரிசைய கொடுவா யன்றி
லோங்கிரும் பெண்ணை யகமட லகவப்
பாம்புமணி யுமிழப் பல்வயிற் கோவல
ராம்பலந் தீங்குழற் றெள்விளி பயிற்ற
வாம்ப லாயிதழ் கூம்புவிட வளமனைப்
பூந்தொடி மகளிர் சுடர்தலைக் கொளுவி
யந்தி யந்தண ரயரக் கானவர்
விண்டோய் பணவை மிசைஞெகிழி பொத்த
வான மாமலை வாய்சூழ்பு கறுப்பக் கானங்
கல்லென் றிரட்டப் புள்ளின மொலிப்ப.

Kuṛi. ll. 215-228.

[19] பொன்னெறி மணியிற் சிறுபுறந் தாழ்ந்தவெம்
பின்னிருங் கூந்தல். Ib. ll. 59-60.

seen the backs of (i. e. driven away) their powerful foes and whose might destroys the fields of their foes, the dog is inspired by firce anger and inflamed with fury whenever it is approached, and possesses large claws and teeth bright like the shoot of the bamboo." [20]

" The sound oozing from the hill ":

The finest of the Ten Songs is Malaipaḍukaḍām, lit. the secretion oozing from the hill (which resembles the mast elephant). Its description of mountain-scenery cannot be easily surpassed. Its author Perūngauśiganār intended the poem as a praise of Nannan, but the description of the hills that belonged to Nannan is longer than the lines devoted to his eulogy. The opening lines describe an orchestra of the hill country. " Like the roar of the black cloud which by raining from the sky produces wealth, the drum fastened by strong strips of leather sounds from its sides (various) tunes. The small drum (āguḷi), the cymbals made by melting metal and making it into a flat sheet, the horn to which bright black peacock feathers and leaves were tied, the long oboe like the proboscis hanging between the eyes of the elephant, the short, excellent pipe which produces a cerebral tone and the sweet flute which sings in unison with these, the karaḍigai which produces an intermediate note, the strong-toned large cymbal (ellari) which keeps time, and the wide-faced drum (padalai) which shows the measure of the notes and others (were

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[20] முனைபாழ் படுக்குந் துன்னருந் துப்பிற்
பகைபுறங் கண்ட பல்வே லிளைஞரி
னுர்வுச்சினஞ் செருக்கித் துன்னுதொறும் வெகுளு
முளைவா ளெயிற்ற வள்ளுகிர் ஞமலி.

Kur. ll. 128-131.

placed in) a bag, thick enough to support them, which looked like a bunch of many jack-fruits which ripen in the rainy season."[21]

From this poem we learn that painting was fairly common in this age, for a woman's "breast is described as possessing the beauty which is found in works of art."[22] "Princes daily held assemblies in which they poured presents to those that praised them as ceaselessly as the rain pours in the proper season, not being satisfied with giving them their enemy kings."[23] "In these

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[21] திருமழை தலைஇய விருணிற விசும்பின்
விண்ணதி ரிமிழிசை கடுப்பப் பண்ணமைத்துத்
திண்வார் விசித்த முழவொ டாகுளி
நுண்ணுருக் குற்ற விளங்கடர்ப் பாண்டின்
மின்னிரும் பீலி யணிதழைக் கோட்டொடு
கண்ணிடை விடுத்த களிற்றுயிர்த் தூம்பி
னிளிப்பயி ரிமிருங் குறும்பரங் தூம்பொடு
விளிப்பது கவருந் தீங்குழ றுதைஇ
நடுவுநின் றிசைக்கு மரிக்குரற் றட்டை
கடிகவர் பொலிக்கும் வல்வா யெல்லரி
நொடிதரு பாணிய பதலையும் பிறவுங்
கார்கோட் பலவின் காய்த்துணர் கடுப்ப
நேர்சீர் சுருக்கிக் காய கலப்பை.

Mal. ll. 1-13.

[22] வனைபுனை யெழின்முலை. Ib. l. 57.

The work of art is a statue as well as a picture.

[23] புகழுநர்க்
காசுமுழுது கொடுப்பினு மமரா நோக்க மொடு
தூத்துளி பொழிந்த பொய்யா வானின்
வீயாது சுரக்குமவ னண்மகி ழிருக்கை.

Ib. 73-76.

assemblies, if learned people who crowded there were unable to display all their learning, the courtiers covered up the defect by expounding what the scholars meant to say and thus helped them."[24] The scholars referred to were probably Sanskrit pandlts.

The author's description of the vegetation of the hill-region is a splendid specimen of realistic poetry. "The thin climbing plant muśuṇḍai produced white flowers which looked like the Pleiades in the broad, black sky. From the sesamum seeds sown in the fields, the plants with many branches rose, looking like sapphires, and as the water from springs, full like water-pots, embraces (the stalks) and prevents them from turning red the young fruit becomes mature and black and so thick that seven fruits can be held together in one grasp and the seed is full of oil. The panicum, whose ears intertwined like the trunks of elephant-calves engaged in a mock-fignt, is fit for harvest. On the cut stalks of the panicum beans have shed flowers white like the droplets of sour curds and have produced fruits which look like swords. On the rocks which lie like bnffaloes on the pathway, large fields yield double ragi stalks like the joined fingers of the logician when he argues. The tōrai paddy in the flowering forest has become fully matured by rain and its clusters are ready to be crushed into flattened rice. The white mustard sown in fields

[24] நல்லோர் குழீஇய நாநவி லவையத்து
வல்லா ராயினும் புறமறைத்துச் சென்றோரைச்
சொல்லிக் காட்டிச் சோர்வின்றி விளக்கி
நல்லிதி னியக்குமவன் சுற்றத் தொழுக்கம்.

Ib. ll. 77-80.

which were not ploughed but only picked by the pickaxe, has grown thick. The roots of the ginger which look like natural (not man-made) pictures have grown fair and acquired acridity. The kavalai, (probably tapioca) whose vine is thick has in pit after pit grown tubers like the bent knees of the strong female yak and fit for being ground into flour. The plantains grew in abundance round hills and their tops with buds that do not blossom pricked the hill-side, as spear-heads fitted to handles prick elephants, and they have produced fruits so thick in a bunch as to bend it. The bamboo-rice has also matured and become fit to eat and stands motionless. The trees there yield fruit independent of the seasons (on account of the fertility of the soil). The black Jambolan fruits lie scattered on the broad rock. The uyavai (Clitoria ternatea), which makes the mouth water, has spread wide (its stems intertwined). The kūvai (arrow root) has matured so as to produce flour. The sweet mango, abounding in juice, prevented people from eating any other fruit. The fruit of the long-trunked variety of the jack, called āśini, has burst and scattered the seeds. On the hillside where the male and the female owls hoot alternately like the small drum, called āguḷi, whose "eyes" are beaten by the fingers, jack-trees with waving boughs, on account of plentiful rainfall, have drunk water and are bent by (the weight of the) fruits which grow up and down and look like the drums (mattaḷam) of dancers who walk along the road. In the fields where the cut stalks are white, the aivana and the white rice have gone to seed and, blown by the strong wind, are flourishing. The leaves of the sweet sugar-cane are bent and the canes have grown thick, so that the bed has become invisible ; like a series of spears leaning on

one another, the sugar-canes have slanted on account of the wind; they have been cut and are waiting to be taken to the press. The long fragrant negisdaly spread out as if it were blackness itself."[25] This poem contains beautiful

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25 அகலிரு விசும்பி னாஅல் போல
வாலிதின் விரிந்த புன்கொடி முசுண்டை
நீலத் தன்ன விதைப்புன மருங்கின்
மகுளி பாயாது மலிதுளி தழாலி
னகளத் தன்ன நிறைசுனைப் புறவிற்
கௌவை போகிய கருங்காய் பிடியேழ்

Ib. ll. 100—105.

நெய்கொள வொழுகின பல்கவரீரெண்
பொய்பொரு கயமுனி முயங்குகை கடுப்பக்
கொய்பத முற்றன குவவுக்குர லேனல்
விளைதயிர்ப் பிதிர்வின் வீயுக் கிருவிதொறுங்
குளிர்புரை கொடுங்காய் கொண்டன வவரை
மேதி யன்ன கல்பிறங் கியவின்
வாதிகை யன்ன கவைக்கதி ரிறைஞ்சி
யிரும்புகவர் வுற்றன பெரும்புன வரகே
பால்வார்பு கெழீஇப் பல்கவர் வளிபோழ்பு
வாலிதின் விளைந்தன வைவனம் வெண்ணெல்
வேலீண்டு தொழுதி யிரிவுற் றென்னக்
காலுறு துவைப்பிற் கவிழ்க்கனைத் திறைஞ்சிக்
குறையறை வாரா நிவப்பி னறையுற்
றாலைக் கலமருந் தீங்கழைக் கரும்பே
புயற்புனிறு போகிய பூமலி புறவி
னவற்பதங் கொண்டன வம்பொதித் தோரை
தொய்யாது வித்திய துளர்படு துடவை
யையவி யமன்ற வெண்காற் செறுவின்
மையென விரிந்தன நீணறு நெய்தல்
செய்யாப் பாவை வளர்ந்துகவின் முற்றிக்

single sentences descriptive of natural objects, but too numerous for quotation. "Honey combs arranged like chariot-wheels on the precipitious hills where the god resides,"[26] "Birds which sing in a choir like a number of musical instruments tuned in unison, on the banyan trees of many branches and filled with

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காயங் கொண்டன விஞ்சி மாவிருந்து
வயவுப்பிடி முழந்தாள் கடுப்பக் குழிதொறும்
விழுமிதின் வீழ்ந்தன கொழுங்கொடிக் கவலை
காழ்மண் டெஃகங் களிறுமுகம் பாய்ந்தென
ஆழ்மல ரொழிமுகை யுயர்மூசந் தோயத்
துறுகல் சுற்றிய சோலை வாழை
யிறுகுகுலை முறுகப் பழுத்த பயம்புக்
கூழுற் றலமரு முந்தூ ழகலறைக்
கால மன்றியு மரம்பயன் கொடுத்தலிற்
காலி னுதிர்ந்தன கருங்கனி நாவன்
மாறு கொள வொழுகின ஆறுநீ ருயவை
நாரொடு குழீஇயின கூவை சேறுசிறந்
துண்ணுநர்த் தடுத்தன தேமாப் புண்ணரிந்
தரலை யுக்கன நெடுந்தா ளாசினி
விரலூன்று படுக ணுகுளி கடுப்பக்
குடிஞை யிரட்டு நெடுமலை யடுக்கத்துக்
கீழு மேலுங் கார்வாய்த் தெதிரிச்
சுரஞ்செல் கோடியர் முழவிற் றூங்கி
முரஞ்சுகொண் டிறைஞ்சின வலங்குசினைப் பலவே

Mal. ll. 106-144.

I have followed the commentator closely in translating this passage.

26 நேர்கொ ணெடுவரை நேமியிற் றொடுத்த
சூர்புக லடுக்கத்துப் பிரசம்.

Ib. ll. 238—239.

fruits." [27], "(The foresters will run to you) as fast as people run to rescue men who have missed the usual ford (for crossing rivers) and walked into deep pits in the river and are sinking,"[28] may be quoted as samples. The following lines display a foretaste of the spirit of exaggeration that is gradually obssessing the Tamil muse. "The python which lies (on the road) like a huge log, which has a large hood and beautiful eyes and swallows the strong, fierce elephant." [29] A curious custom is alluded to, that of "forest-women, with hair like the waving, black river-sand, singing a song to heal the long gaping wounds caused by the striped tigers on the breasts of their husbands." [30] The gathering of honey is described as "the looting of the honey gathered by the bees for its own benefit, by going up bamboo trees planted on the beautiful, tall hills, which even the bearded ape cannot climb." [31] The cumulus cloud is

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27 கோடுபல முரஞ்சிய கோளி யாலத்துக்
கூடியத் தன்ன குரல்புணர் புள்.
Ib. ll. 268—269.

28 நிலைத்துறை வழீஇய மதனழி மாக்கள்
புனற்படு பூசலின் விரைந்துவல் லெய்தி.
Ib. ll. 280—281.

29 அகன்பை யங்கண்
மைந்துமலி சினத்த களிறுமத னழிக்குந்
துஞ்சுமரங் கடுக்கு மாசுணம்.
Ib. ll. 259-26 .

30 கொடுவரி பாய்ந்தெனக் கொழுநர் மார்பி
னெடுவசி விழுப்புண் டணிமார் காப்பென
வறல்வாழ் கூந்தற் கொடிச்சியர் பாடல்
Mal ll. 302-304.

31 கலைகை யற்ற காண்பி னெடுவரை
நிலைபெய் திட்ட மால்புநெறி யாகப்
பெரும்பயன் றொகுத்த தேங்கொள் கொள்ளை.
Ib. ll. 315—317.

described as "swelling like carded cotton, and resting on the high hill."[32] Nannan ruled over the valley of Śēyāṟu.

"The smaller guide to poets.":

As Malaipaḍukaḍām directed indigent poets to go to Nannan for reward, so Śiṟupāṉaṟṟuppaḍai guided them to the court of Nalliyakkōḍan. The fact that these odes were sung in honour of petty chiefs is itself an indication that the greater Rājas—Śōḻa, Śēra, and Pāṇḍiya—had declined in importance. This inference is confirmed by the fact that the poet praises Nalliyakkōḍan as superior in generosity to the "three kings" and the "seven princes," and incidentally gives brief descriptive notices of the three kingdoms and the seven principalities of the Tamil land. "In the western country (that of the Śeras), the buffalo, treading on fat fishes, eats with its large mouth the red lily which has thick petals; its hairy back is rubbed by the soft turmeric leaves under the shade of the jack-tree on which grows the green pepper vine; it chews the cud smelling of immature honey and sleeps on a bed of wild-jasmine."[33] "The southern (Pāṇḍiya) country

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[32] மைபடு மாமலைப் பனுவலிற் பொங்கி,

Ib. 1, 361.

[33] கொழுமீன் குறைய வொதுங்கி வள்ளிதழ்க்
கழுநீர் மேய்ந்த கயவா யெருமை
பைங்கறி நிவந்த பலவி னீழன்
மஞ்சண் மெல்லிலை மயிர்ப்புறந் தைவர
விளையா விளங்க ணாற மெல்குபு பெயராக்
குளவிப் பள்ளிப் பாயல் கொள்ளுங்
குடபுலம்.

Śiṟ. ll. 41-47.

which was ruled over by the lord of Koṛkai, has as its boundary, the breaking waves; near them came the salt-sellers, carts, the front of whose axle-boxes were made from a block of the ripe nuṇā (Morinda umbellata) whose flowers shed honey, turned with sharp chisels and covered with red lac, and which were drawn by strong bullocks, adorned with garlands passing behind their ears. In the carts came monkeys which were treated like children (by the salt-vendors) and they shook the rattles of the jewelled children of the wives of the salt-sellers, who wore on the waist (a garland of) pearls bright like the teeth of women and also saw-mouthed shells, who embraced their men, and whose hair was plaited fivefold."[34] "The East (Śōḻa) country possesses places where the tune called Kāmaram is sung, and where the bees embrace their mates, and go to sleep on the golden seed-vessel, surrounded by the petals, red as if covered

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[34] நறவுவா யுறைக்கு நாகுமுதிர் நுணவத்
தறைவாய்க் குறுந்துணி யயிலுளி பொருத
கைபுனை செப்பங் கடைந்த மார்பிற்
செய்பூங் கண்ணி செவிமுத றிருத்தி
நோன்பகட் டுமண ரொழுகையொடு வந்த
மகாஅ ரன்ன மந்தி மடவோர்
நகாஅ ரன்ன நளிநீர் முத்தம்
வாள்வா யெருந்தின் வயிற்றகத் தடக்கித்
தோள்புற மறைக்கு நல்கூர் நுசுப்பி
னுளரிய லைம்பா லுமட்டிய ரீன்ற
கிளர்பூட் புதல்வரொடு கிலுகிலி யாடுந்
தத்துநீர் வரைப்பிற் கொற்கைக் கோமான்
றென்புலம்.

Śir. ll. 51-63.

Lines 58-59 are obscure.

with lac, of the holy lotus whose bud looks like the rising breast and whose full-blown flower is bright like the (human) face. This lotus grows on the ghat, which looks like a picture, because on it is spread the cochineal-like pollen of the crowded flowers of the Kaḍambu which growns on the banks of the tank full of water."[35] The other descriptions are too slender to be quoted. Vellore being one of the towns belonging to this prince, his principality was perhaps coterminous with the present North Arcot district.

" The Guide to Murugan ":

In imitation of the three guides to poets in this collection, the Tirumurugāṟṟuppaḍai is a guide to Muruga shrines. In this poem Nakkīranār describes the worship of Murugan at (1) Tirupparaṅguṉṟam, (2) Tiruccīralaivāy, (3) Tiruvāvinangudi, (4) Tiruvēragam (5) on hills and (6) in orchards. This poem belongs to the eve of the final absorption of Aryanism by the Tamils, when the Tamil Murugan had just been identified with the Aryan six-faced Kārttikeya, fosterchild of

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35 நறுநீர்ப் பொய்கை யடைகரை நிவந்த
துறுநீர்க் கடம்பின் றுணையார் கோதை
யோவத் தன்ன வுண்டுறை மருங்கிற்
கோவத் தன்ன கொங்குசேர் புறைத்தலின்.
வருமுலை யன்ன வண்முகை யுடைந்து
திருமுக மவிழ்ந்த தெய்வத் தாமரை
யாசி லங்கை யரக்குத்தோய்ந் தன்ன
சேயிதழ் பொதிந்த செம்பொற் கொட்டை
யேம வின்றுணை தழீஇ யிறகுளர்ந்து
காமர் தும்பி காமரஞ் செப்புந்
தண்பனை தழீஇய தளரா விருக்கை.

Śir. 11. 68-78.

the stars of the Pleiades. In it we can notice the dying Tamil rite of Muruga worship coalescing with the rite of the Aryan worship of ṣaṇmukha "The frightful demonesses with dry hair, irregular teeth, large mouth, yellow eyes rolling with anger, cruel looks, ears which distressed their large breasts, like fierce snakes hanging from owls with prominent eye balls, rough-skinned belly, and terrible gaits, with bent fingers whose nails were dipped in blood, gouged the eyes and ate them, and carried in their large bangled hands the black heads (of corpses), and singing songs of victory and shaking their upper arms danced the Tuṇaṅgai, their mouth eating carrion."[27] But yet "the Lord who possessed the tall flag adorned with the bird which has many stripes and bent feathers and strikes the snake dead, the Lord who in the field of victory held up of the white bull as his flag, who has Umā in one half of his body, whose thick shoulders are praised by many, who possesses three unwinking eyes and burnt the three cities, the Lord of Fortune who has ten rows of hundred eyes each, performed a hundred sacrifices and defeated his enemies, and who rides on the back of

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[27] உலறிய கதுப்பிற் பிறழ்பற் பேழ்வாய்ச்
சுழல்விழிப் பசுங்கட் சூர்த்த நோக்கிற்
கழல்கட் கூகையொடு கடும்பாம்பு தூங்கப்
பெருமுலை யலைக்குங் காதிற் பிணர்மோட்
டுருகெழு செலவி னஞ்சுவரு பேய்மகள்
குருதியாடிய கூருகிர்க் கொடுவிரற்
கண்டொட் டுண்ட சழிமுடைக் கருந்தலை
யொண்டொடித் தடக்கையி னேந்தி வெருவர
வென்றடு விறற்களம் பாடித்தோள் பெயரா
நிணந்தின் வாய டுணங்கை தூங்க.

Tir. ll. 47-56.

the elephant on whose head grow twice two horns, whose gait is beautiful, which has a bent trunk hanging low, and who is praised by all, the Lord whose one aim is to guard the universe so as to keep up the towns belonging to the four Gods"[28] visited Murugan at Tiruvāvinangudi. The last God is explained by the commentator to be the same as the first and the four Gods in the last phrase to be Indiran, Yaman, Varuṇan, and Śōman. This explanation is forced; but I cannot offer any other.

The part of the poem that relates to Tirucciralaivāy is an elaborate explanation of the functions of the six faces and twelve arms of ṣaṇmukha, nothing like which was known to Tamil literature before the VI century A. D. The fourth part of the poem, that which describes Murugan at Tiruvēragam deals with Brāhmaṇa-worship of the god. It runs thus:—"The twice-born descended on both sides from families which have earned the respect of the world, who have not failed to discharge

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28 பாம்புபடப் புடைக்கும் பல்வரிக் கொடுஞ்சிறைப்
புள்ளணி நீள்கொடிச் செல்வனும் வெள்ளேறு
வலவயி னுயரிய பலர்புகழ் திணிதோ
ளுமையமர்ந்து விளங்கு மிமையா முக்கண்
மூவெயின் முருக்கிய முரண்மிகு செல்வனு
நூற்றுப்பத் தடுக்கிய நாட்டத்து நூறுபல்
வேள்வி முற்றிய வென்றடு கொற்றத
தீரிரண் டேந்திய மருப்பி னெழினடைத்
தாழ்பெருந் தடக்கை யுயர்த்த யானை
யெருத்த மேறிய திருக்கிளர் செல்வனு
நாற்பெருந் தெய்வத்து நன்னகர் நிலைஇய
வுலகங் காக்கு மொன்றுபுரி கொள்கை.

Tir. ll. 150-161.

the twice three kinds of Brahminical duties, and who have trodden on the path (of Brahmacarya) for forty-eight years, and who possess the eternal principles of Dharma and the (spiritual) wealth of maintaing the triple fire, praise the god in proper season. They wear nine strands of thread twisted in three, and wet clothes (after bathing) which dry on the body; they join their palms above their heads, praise him and sing the six-lettered mantra as long as their tongue can move. They then take sweet-smelling flowers in their hands (and scatter them) before the god who lives joyfully at Eragam."[29]

In this place the worship of Murugan was conducted purely in the Aryan style, but on hills it was in the pure Tamil style, as described in the section of the poem called "Dancing on the hills." There "the priest of Murugan wore a garland of green creepers on which were strung the sweet smelling nutmeg, the wild

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[29] இருமூன் றெய்திய வியல்பினின் வழாஅ
திருவர்ச் சுட்டிய பல்வேறு தொல்குடி
யறுநான் கிரட்டி யிளமை நல்லியாண்
டாறினிற் கழிப்பிய வறனவில் கொள்கை
மூன்றுவகைக் குறித்த முத்தீச் செல்வத்
திருபிறப் பாளர் பொழுதறிந்து நுவல
வொன்பது கொண்ட மூன்றுபுரி நுண்ஞாண்
புலராக் காழகம் புலர வுடீஇ
யுச்சிக் கூப்பிய கையினர் தற்புகழ்ந்
தாறெழுத் தடக்கிய வருமறைக் கேள்வி
நாவியன் மருங்கி னவிலப் பாடி
விரையுறு நறுமல ரேந்திப் பெரிதுவந்
தேரகத் துறைதலு முரியன்.

Tir. ll. 177—119.

jasmine flower and the white convolvulus and daubed on his breast the bright fragrant sandal-paste. The foresters who kill (beasts) with their strong, cruel bows, along with their kindred in hill-hamlets, drink the liquor which has been matured in long bamboo stems and dance the Kuravai dance to the beating of the small Toṇḍagam drum. Their women wear garlands of full-blown flowers which emit different kinds of odour, and strings of flowers which grow in deep mountain pools, on their well-combed hair. They wear round their waist the leaf-garment made of the leaves and flowers of the sweet basil and the flower-clusters of the fair-trunked marā (Eugenia racemosa), whence bees drink honey and (the women) with the gait of the peacock dance so that the leafy girdle waves on the forelap. The priest puts on red garments, sticks behind his ears the cool tender leaves of the Aśoka, whose trunk is red, ties a cummerband, wears anklets, as also the garland of veṭci; the flute is played, the trumpet is blown, and other instruments are sounded. A ram and a peacock are brought; the cock-flag is raised. He wears armlets, is surrounded by songstresses whose throat sounds like a string. On the cummerband wound tight round his waist, he wears a thin cloth, hanging down to the ground, while women with soft shoulders like the deer dance; he grasps them with his hands broad like a drum and dances on the hills."[3]

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30 பைங்கொடி நறைக்கா யிடையிடுபு வேல
னம்பொதிப் புட்டில் விரைஇக் குளவியொடு
வெண்கூ தாளந் தொடுத்த கண்ணிய
னறுஞ்சாந் தணிந்த கேழ்கிளர் மார்பிற்

The last section of the poem which is called "The garden where fruit is matured," shows the old worship of Murugan mixed with the new mythology about him, so that we can watch the process of the welding of the Tamil and Ārya cults. "They mixed the panicum with

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கொடுந்தொழில் வல்விற் கொலைஇய கானவர்
நீடமை விளைந்த தேக்கட் டேறற்
குன்றகச் சிறுகுடிக் கிளையுடன் மகிழ்ந்து
தொண்டகச் சிறுபறைக் குரவை யயர
விரலுளர்ப் பவிழ்ந்த வேறுபடு நறுங்காற்
குண்டுசுனை பூத்த வண்டுபடு கண்ணி
யிணைத்த கோதை யணைத்த கூந்தன்
முடித்த குல்லை யிலையுடை நறும்பூச்
செங்கான் மராஅத்த வாலிண ரிடையிடுபு
சுரும்புணத் தொடுத்த பெருந்தண் மாத்தழை
திருந்துகா ழல்கு றிளைப்ப வுடீஇ
மயில்கண் டன்ன மடநடை மகளிரொடு
செய்யன் சிவந்த வாடையன் செவ்வரைச்
செயலைத் தண்டளிர் துயல்வருங் காதினன்
கச்சினன் கழலினன் செச்சைக் கண்ணியன்
குழலன் கோட்டன் குறும்பல் லியத்தன்
றகரன் மஞ்ஞையன் புகரில் சேவலங்
கொடிய னெடியன் றொடியணி தோள
னரம்பார்த் தன்ன வின்குரற் றொகுதியொடு
குறும்பொறிக் கொண்ட நறுந்தண் சாயன்
மருங்கிற் கட்டிய நிலனேர்பு துகிலினன்
முழவுறழ் தடக்கையி னியல வேந்தி
மென்றோட் பல்பிணை தழீஇத் தலைத்தந்து
குன்றுதொ றாடலு நின்றதன் பண்பே...

Tir. ll. 190-217.

flowers, cut up the ram, and planted the cock-flag,"[31] in all sorts of places. "They daubed white mustard and ghi, muttered (prayers), worshipped him, threw beautiful flowers on him; they wore two pieces of cloth of different colours, tied red thread (round their wrist), scattered white fried rice, mixed white rice with the blood of the strong-legged ram, gave it as a minor offering, placed other dishes (before the god), and spirted green turmeric paste and fragrant sandal paste; they cut off the heads of garlands of the cool red oleander, raised it high, prayed that the hill-side villages might prosper, offered incense, and sang the Kuṛiñji tune. The hill-streams and the musical instruments sounded; they spread red flowers and panicum mixed with blood.'[32]

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[31] சிறுதினை மலரொடு விரைஇ மறியறுத்து
வாரணக் கொடியொடு வயிற்பட நிறீஇ
Ib. ll. 218-219.

[32] நெய்யோ டையவி யப்பி யைதுரைத்துக்
குடந்தம் பட்டுக் கொழுமலர் சிதறி
முரண்கொ ளுருவி னிரண்டுட னுடீஇச்
செந்நூல் யாத்து வெண்பொரி சிதறி
மதவலி நிலைஇய மாத்தாட் கொழுவிடைக்
குருதியொடு விரைஇய தூவெள் ளரிசி
சில்பலிச் செய்து பல்பிரப் பிரீஇச்
சிறுபசு மஞ்சளொடு நறுவிரை தெளித்துப்
பெருந்தண் கணவீர நறுந்தண் மாலை
துணையற வறுத்துத் தூங்க நாற்றி
நளிமலைச் சிலம்பி னன்னகர் வாழ்த்தி
நறும்புகை யெடுத்துக் குறிஞ்சி பாடி
யிமிழிசை யருவியொ டின்னியங் கறங்க
வுருவப் பல்பூத் தூஉய் வெருவரக்
குருதிச் செந்தினை பரப்பி.
Tir. ll. 228-242.

This is followed by an account of the birth of Kumāra, taken from Aryan legends. The poem ends with the phrase, 'Lord of the hill on which there are orchards where fruits mature.'[33]

From now, Murugan almost entirely dropped out Tamil literature for nearly three hundred years, Śiva and Viṣṇu claiming the undivided attention and the one-pointed devotion of Tamil poets.

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32 பழமுதிர் சோலை மலைகிழ வோனே.

Ib. l. 317.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE KALI COLLECTION ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY:

Kalittogai :

This anthology is the swan-song of the old Tamil literary tradition. The five songs that constitute this collection all belong to the VI century A. D., with the end of which century, the old love songs ceased to be composed, being ousted by the new kind of poems which were inspired by devotion to Śiva or Viṣṇu enshrined in particular temples of the Tamil country, and, therefore, in a vocabulary, choked with borrowings from Sanskrit. The few love-songs, now called Kōvai, that were composed in the later ages, though they nominally followed the Tamil tradition and followed the rules of Tolkāppiyanār's grammar and others of later date, with regard to the Agam class of poems, yet had as their subject-matter not human love, but that of the devotee, treated for the time as a woman, to God, conceived as the lover. Songs of human love did not entirely die out, but they degenerated into a very artificial love-poetry. quite the opposite pole to the realistic poetry of the early ages.

Old imagery long drawn out :

Kali is a kind of metre in which the hundred and fifty poems of this collection are composed. As in the Five Short Hundred, each tiṇai was taken up by a separate author. The poems too were deliberately composedto

illustrate the rules of Tolkāppiyanār, and hence cannot be attributed to an age earlier than the VI century. This is also proved by the fact that the Aryan gods were well-established in the Tamil land before these poems were composed. But yet there are echoes of very old Tamil customs which had not died out in the VI century. Moreover whereas the older poems dealt briefly, as do sonnets, with one sentiment, in the Kalittogai, a single situation is beaten out into a long poem, artificially subdivided into parts. Thus the Pālaikkali deals with the misery of the heroine on account of the lover's proposal to go to far countries to earn wealth and her attempts to restrain him from going away. The agony is drawn out over many hundreds of lines of the first Kali. The other Kalis, too, go in systematic order through the whole gamut of love-incidents that according to Tolkāppiyānar constituted each class (tiṇai) of love-poetry. So that may be noticed a continuity of story in each Kali, and each Kali may almost be called the epopee of a particular tiṇai. As an example may be quoted the Marudakkali, which is the epic of harlotry, consisting of the speeches of the heroine, her companion, the erring lover, his mistresses, and the pāṇan (bard) who is the go-between that first secures mistresses for the hero and later tries to bring about a reconciliation between wife and husband. The result of this method of treatment is a wearisome repetition on a very large scale of the images and concepts of the five kinds of poetry, of which illustrations have been given in Chapter XVII. In the Pālaikkali by Pālai pāḍiya Peruṅgaḍuṅgō, the heat of the sun, the mirage, the lack of roads, the superiority of the joys of love to the joys of wealth, the loss of beauty owing to the pangs of parting and the like incidents of Pālai

occur endlessly. As it is not possible to quote the whole or a large part of any one Kali to prove this point, a specimen or two may be given of the repetition of the same sentiment in three successive passages. A mother searching for her daughter who had eloped with her lover was told the following words of consolation by an ascetic. " Sandal, with which many fragrant substances are mixed, gives pleasure to those that rub its paste on their body ; but though born on the hills, what good does it do to them ? If you think about it, your daughter will be to you (like the sandal to the hill). Excellent white pearls are useful to those that wear them ; but, though born in the water (of the sea), what good do they do to the water ? When you consider it, your daughter will be to you (like the pearls to the sea). The delightful notes from the seven strings are useful to the players ; but, though born from the yā̱l, what good do they do to the yā̱l ? When you enquire into it, your daughter will be to you (like the notes to the yā̱l)."[1]

Here is another example :—Women who have been abandoned after the beauty of their shoulders have been enjoyed, are like a leaf-cup from which one has drunk

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[1] பலவுறு நறுஞ்சாந்தம் படுப்பவர்க் கல்லதை
மலையுளே பிறப்பினு மலைக்கவைதா மென்செய்யு
நினையுங்கா னும்மக ளுமக்குமாங் கனையளே
சீர்கெழு வெண்முத்த மணிபவர்க் கல்லதை
நீருளே பிறப்பினு நீர்க்கவைதா மென்செய்யுந்
தேருங்கா னும்மக ளுமக்குமாங் கனையளே
எழ்புண ரின்னிசை முரல்பவர்க் கல்லதை
யாழுளே பிறப்பினும் யாழ்க்கவைதா மென்செய்யுஞ்
சூழுங்கா னும்மக ளுமக்கு மாங்கனையளே.

water with great desire. Women whose beauty has been enjoyed with great desire are like a town from which its dwellers have departed. Women whose beauty has been enjoyed by men who have embraced them, are like a flower which has been worn."[2] In these specimens there is at least variety of imagery; but there is no charm in the repetition ad nauseam of the fighting of elephants and tigers, the scaring off of parrots from the millet-field, the crawling of crabs on the sandy beach and the waves moving to and fro the boats from which fishermen catch fish; such constitute the bulk of Kalittogai.

Allegorization of images:

This tiresome repetition of imagery is partly due to the fact that a scheme of allegory had been developed and every natural object had become the symbol of something or other connected with love. This extensive use of symbols instead of the straight names of objects has become a disease of poetry and poems have thence degenerated into riddles. Such use of symbols, called uḷḷuraiyuvamam (Metaphor) occurs now and then in the early literature, and applies to single words or epithets but becomes an extensive allegory in this poem. The following is a specimen. " In the sweet-smelling spring

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[2] தோணல முண்டு துறக்கப் பட்டோர்
வேணீ ருண்ட குடையோ ரன்னர்
நல்குநர் புரிந்து நலமுணப் பட்டோ
ரல்குநர் போகிய வூரோ ரன்னர்
கூடினர் புரிந்து குணனுணப் பட்டோர்
சூடின ரிட்ட பூவோ ரன்னர்

Kal. i, 22, ll. 8-15,

flowing from the broad rock where the bamboos cut off the desirable light of the morning sun, grows the fragrant, beautiful lily. The cluster of its flowers is mistaken for the rare-gemmed serpent drinking water. On the hill side where the flowers smell sweet flows the roar of the thunder when it rains hard and the wind shakes the huge hills. The men of the hill-hamlet rise from their sleep."[3] The allegorical interpretation of this beautiful passage as given by the commentator is:—The broad rock is the house of the heroine, the lily in the spring is the fair maiden whom her relatives are looking after, the fragrant lily looking like the serpent is the love of the lovers, which though it will lead ultimately to a happy wedded life now appears as it were sinful, the flow of the sound of thunder along the hill-side is the spread of the rumours about their love-passages throughout the village, the villagers rising from their sleep is the obstruction to the even course of their love by her relatives placing a guard in the house to prevent her from meeting the lover. In some of the latest of the odes of Naṟṟiṇai also occurs this kind of allegory and I think it is the reflection of Sanskrit love-poetry of late times, because this kind of "metaphysical poetry" is very rare in early Tamil literature before it was influenced by Sanskrit literature.

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[3] விடியல்வெங் கதிர்காயும் வேயம லகலறைக்
கடிசுனைக் கவினிய காந்தளங் குலையினை
யருமணி யவிருத்தி யரவுநீ ருணல்செத்துப்
பெருமலை மிளிர்ப்பன்ன காற்றுடைக் கனைபெய
லுருமுக்கண் ணுறுதலி னுயர்குர லொலிமேயோடி
நறுவீய நனஞ்சாரற் சிலம்பலிற் கதுமெனச்
சிறுகுடி துயிலெழூஉம்.

Kal, ii. 9, ll 1-7.

Aryan Similes:

In these poems several similes are drawn from Aryan mythology. Thus the companion of the heroine describes the proposed parting of the lover from his mistress in these terms:—"You have resolved to go along the hot, endless way, where the path is obstructed by rocks, cracked by the heat of the bright sun, as the (three) forts were destroyed by the fierce anger of the wielder of the battle-axe. The sun is like the face of the three-eyed God, when, being requested at the beginning (of creation) by Brahma, the Ancient, and other Gods to fell the necks of the rebellious Asuras, Śiva with the ferocity of Yama defeated in open fight the crafty Asuras and broke their three forts. Your sweet-heart who cannot forget you will die here (as soon as you go away)."[4] A simile based on Aryan rites is found in "my breath comes in gasps like the smoke of the yajñas performed by Brāhmaṇas learned in the śruti,"[5]

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4 தொடங்கற்கட் டோன்றிய முதியவன் முதலாக
வடங்காதார் மிடல்சாய வமரர்வந் திரத்தலின்
மடங்கல்போற் சினைஇ மாயஞ்செ யவுணரைக்
கடந்தடு முன்பொடு முக்கண்ணான் மூவெயிலு
முடன்றக்கான் முகம்போல வொண்கதிர் தெறுதலிற்
சீறருங் கணிச்சியோன் சினவலி னவ்வெயி
லேறுபெற் றுதிர் வனபோல் வரைபிளந் தியங்குந
ராறுகெட விலங்கிய வழலவி ராரிடை
மறப்பருங் காத லிவளீண் டொழிய
விறப்பத் துணிந்தனிர்.

Kal. i. 2. ll. 1-10.

5 கேள்வி யந்தணர் கடவும்
வேள்வி யாவியி னுயிர்க்குமென் னெஞ்சே

Kal. i. 35. ll. 22-56.

and in "As the Rākṣasa king who had twice five heads inserted his hand shining with bangles under the high hill on which sat, along with Umā, the Brāhmaṇa God, whose locks are (always) wet and who bent the bow made from the Himalayan bamboo."[6] This latter is a specimen of the many allusions to northern legends that occur in the anthology. The following is a specimen of similes taken not from nature, nor from legends but from the teachings of the Dharma Sastra and coming straight from later Sanskrit literature where such conceits abound. It also illustrates the intimate coalescence that had by that time taken place between Tamil and Sanskrit poetic imagery. "The leaves of the trees on the banks of the sweet water grow more and more, as does the wealth of the faultless man who gives unstintingly and follows the path of Dharma."[7] All this is evidence that these Kali poems were begun after Aryan culture had attained a position of eminence in the VI century.

Persistence of the old poetical spirit :

The increase in the number of Aryan allusions does not mean that the old poetic fire was at all extinguished. Kaḍuṅgō thus describes the oncoming of spring:—"As

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6 இமையவில் வாங்கிய வீர்ஞ்சடை யந்தண
னுமையமர்ந் துயர்மலை யிருந்தன ஞ
வையிரு தலையி னரக்கர் கோமான்
றொடிப்பொலி தடக்கையிற் கீழ்புகுத் தம்மலை
யெடுக்கல் செல்லா துழப்பவன் போல

Kal. ii. 2. ll. 1-5.

7 ஈதலிற் குறைகாட்டா தறனறிந் தொழுகிய
தீதிலான் செல்வம்போற் றீங்கரை மரநந்த.

Kal. i. 27, ll. 1-2.

if the river desired to witness the spreading beauties of the great earth, and opened its eyes, flowers blossomed and beautified the tanks near ; the petals of the murukku (coral flower) dropped from their stalks on the tanks and looked like coral fixed on crystal-like glass. The bees crowded and hummed when they saw themselves and the flowers reflected in the clear ponds. The buds of the trees on the banks opened out and adorned the tree like several kinds of gems. The spring scattered the pollen, even when the hands of women who have embraced their lovers were not taken out from below their lovers' arms."[7]

Kabilar thus describes a lady :—"Like the clouds that penetrate between the interstices of the bright lightning, the (fivefold) partings of the hair fair like the lines cut on gold, shine between the fivefold plaits (on the head). Behind was the fragrant flower-garland in which at various places strips of Pandanus petals had been inserted. Sweet smiles adorned her teeth and sweet words beautified her mouth naturally red."[8] This

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7 வீறுசான் ஞாலத்து வியலணி காணிய
யாறுகண் விழித்தபோற் கயநந்திக் கவின்பெற
மண்புரை வயங்கலுட் டுப்பெறிந் தவைபோலப்
பிணிவிடு முருக்கித ழணிகயத் துதிர்ந்துகத்
துணிகய நிழனோக்கித் துதைபுடன் வண்டார்ப்ப
மணிபோல வரும்பூழ்த்து மரமெல்லா மலர்வேயக்
காதலர்ப் புணர்ந்தவர் கவவுக்கை நெகிழாது
தாதவிழ் வேனிலோ வந்தன்று.

Kal. i. 32 ll. 1-8.

8 மின்னொளி ரவிரற விடைபோழும் பெயலேபோற்
பொன்னகை தகைவகிர் வகைநெறி வயங்கிட்டுப்

is how a lover praises his mistress in the form of a conundrum :—" (Your) beauty is waning ; but you are not the decrescent moon. (Your face) has black (tilakam on the forehead and collyrium on the eyelids) ; but you are not the moon. You possess (shoulders like) the bamboo but you are not a hill. You have flowers (i. e., flower like eyes) ; but you are not a (mountain) spring. Your gait is slow ; but you are not a peacock. As you speak, you get tired ; but you are not a parrot."[9] This is another description but less like a conundrum " Your fair face is like the moon. The back of your head is like the black cloud near the moon which resembles your face. The flowers strung together with fine thread and with petals wet with honey, placed on the back of your head, resemble in beauty the Pleiades, being contrasted with (the hair which is like) a black serpent."[10]

போழிடை யிட்ட கமழ்நறும் பூங்கோதை
யின்னகை யிலங்கெயிற்றுத் தேமொழித்
துவர்ச்செவ்வாய்
Kal. ii. 19. ll. 1·4.

9 ஐதேய்ந் தன்று பிறையு மன்று
மைதீர்ந் தன்று மதியு மன்று
வேயமன் றன்று மலையு மன்று
பூவமன் றன்று சுனையு மன்று
மெல்ல வியலு மயிலு மன்று
சொல்லத் தளருங் கிளியு மன்று
Kal. ii. 19. ll. 9-14.

10 அணிமுக மதியேய்ப்ப வம்மதியை நனியேய்க்கு
மணிமுக மாமழைநின் பின்னொப்பப் பின்னின்கண்
விரிநுண்ணூல் சுற்றிய வீரித ழலரி
யரவுக்கண் ணணியுற ழாரன்மீன் றகையொப்ப.
Kal. ii. 19. ll. 9 4.

References to toy-chariots to which toy elephants were attached, occur in all the early poems; but Marudan Iḷanāganār, the author of Marudakkali, turns it to good use in the mouth of a wife whose husband has resorted to hetairae. "Let those who do not love you, neglect you. Come, my charioteer of a son, on whose soft head shine three strings of pearls, to me who have given you birth and who with an unchanging love may see you to the full satisfaction of my eyes. Slowly, slowly drag with the twisted soft rope, while the bells within your anklets tinkle, the elephant made by (human) hands, which does not require food and bears (on its back) a seat made of coral with bud-like bright pearls set on its edges. It is sweet to witness your tired, wobbling walk, while bright (little) bells (at your feet) tinkle; but it is bitter to see the girls who have conveyed my message to your father and have returned with their bangles slipping out of sorrow."[11]

11 நயந்தலை மாறுவார் மாறுக மாறாக்
கயந்தலை மின்னுங் கதிர்விடு முக்காழ்ப்
பயந்தவெங் கண்ணார யாங்காண நல்கித்
திகழொளி முத்தங் கரும்பாகத் தைஇப்
பவழம் புனைந்த பருதி சுமப்பக்
கவழ மறியாநின் கைபுனை வேழம்
புரிபுனை பூங்கயிற்றிற் பைபய வாங்கி
யரிபுனை புட்டிலி னாங்கணீர்த் தீங்கே
வருகவெம் பாக மகன்
கிளர்மணி யார்ப்பார்ப்பச் சாஅய்ச்சாஅய்ச் செல்லுந்
தளர்நடை காண்ட லினிதுமற் றின்னாதே
யுளமென்னா நுந்தைமாட் டெவ்வ முழப்பார்
வளைநெகிழ் பியாங்காணுங் கால்.

Kal. iii. 15 ll. 1-13.

The following description of the evening is by Nallanduvanār, the author of Neydaṛkali and the editor of the Kali collection. "The sun, which resembled the discus with which he cut the skull of the murderous elephant on which was seated his foe, when the broad-chested One who wore a garland of cool, blown flowers, quelled the valour of his enemies who attacked him in a body, gathered together his rays and disappeared behind the hill. The broad ocean roared; and the sounding waves of the sea reached the shore as if to see the night. The banks of the backwaters lost their beauty because the bees had flown away. The flowers of the pond closed up their petals as if they had gone to sleep. The world took fear and trembled. The dark night causing distress to all, subjugated the wide earth."[12]

"The Song of the Pestle":

In the Kuṛiñjikkali by Kabilar occurs a beautiful specimen of Vaḷḷaippāṭṭu. Vaḷḷaippāṭṭu is a song sung by two women while they are pounding grains in a wooden

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[12] மல்லரை மறஞ்சாய்த்த மலர்த்தண்டா ரகலத்தோ
னொல்லாதா ருடன்றோட வுருத்துட னெறிந்தவிற்
கொல்யானை யணிநுத லழுத்திய வாழிபோற்
கல்சேர்பு ஞாயிறு கதிர்வாங்கி மறைதலி
னிருங்கட லொலித்தாங்கே யிரவுக்காண்பது போலப்
பெருங்கட லோதநீர் வீங்குபு கறைசேரப்
போஒய வண்டினாற் புல்லென்ற துறையவாய்ப்
பாயல்கொள் பவைபோலக் கயமலர் வாய்கூம்ப
வொருநிலையே நடுக்குற்றி வுலகெலா மச்சுற
விருநிலம் பெயர்ப்பன்ன வெவ்வங்கூர் மருண்மாலை.

Kal. v. 17 ll. 1-10.

mortar and consists of a series of strophes and anti-strophes sung alternately, each accompanying the down-coming of the pestle, to relieve the tedium of the monotonous work. The Kuṛava girls pound the panicum, with pestles made of the heartwood of a tree which grows on the hills, on a pit on a rock, which serves as a mortar. This practice coming down from the stone age is idealized and used as an incident in Kuriñji poetry and the occasion is used by maidens for alternately praising and damning the lover. (The foster-sister says). "Let us sing, my friend, as we like." (The maiden replies), "Let us pull the mature spikes of the millet whose heads are bent like (those of) shy girls with fair eyes and glad speech, raise alternately the pestle made of the ivory full of pearls, (pound the grains in) a mortar made of the wood of the sandal-tree on which buds grow, and sing as we like in praise of the hill which belongs to the man who has caused (in my bosom) the disease (of love) for which there is no remedy." (The foster sister then says), "Girl with a fair forehead, handsome locks, soft shoulders looking like the beautiful bamboo, and cheeks smelling like honey, I shall sing a song in praise (of the hill); you, too, sing a song eulogizing the fruitful hill where the bamboo grows in clusters."[13] After singing about the hill, the foster sister and the heroine began to sing alternately praising and blaming the hero, in the style of the regular

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[13] அகவினம் பாடுவாந் தோழி யமர்க்க
ணகைமொழி நல்லவர் நாணு நிலைபோற்
றகைகொண்ட வேனலுட் டாழ்குர லுருவி
முகைவளர் சாந்துரன் முத்தார் மருப்பின்
வகைசா லுலக்கை வயின்வயி னோச்சிப்

vaḻḷaippāṭṭu or 'pounding-song.' (Foster-sister). "Friend, may you live long. Come, let us consider why the hill which belongs to the country of the shameless one who has neglected you is lower than the (next) hill on which flows the bright stream."

(Heroine). "Will he whose heart is inspired by truth, and whose conduct is as straight as the beam of a balance which does not lean to one side, desert and destroy the heart of one who loves him "?" (Foster-sister.) "Beside the hill on the land of the worthless person who has neglected us, the neighbouring hills, on which the cool, fragrant Kōṅgu flowers look like an elephant wearing gold ornaments." (Heroine). "Will he whose hands generously bestow chariots on those that seek his gifts and whose complexion is clearer than the water from his hills, desert me so that love-sickness may torment me"?

(Foster-sister). "The hill of the person who has caused us distress and hence made the bangles slip (from the hand), looks like the (useless) moon behind a cloud, whereas the next hill shines with honeycombs placed on its top and dripping with honey." (Heroine). "Do not ceaselessly speak about his cruelty. He who has bound my heart (with his love) is not one who will not be afraid of the evil conduct which other people shun."[14]

பகையி னோய் செய்தான் பயமலை யேத்தி
யகவினம் பாடுவா நாம்
ஆய்நுத லணிந்த லம்பணைத் தடமென்றோட்
டேனாறு கதுப்பினா யானுமொன் றேத்துகு
வேய்நரல் விடாக நீ யொன்று பாடித்தை.

Kal. ii. 4. ll. 1-10.

The Bull-fight:

In the Mullaikkali by Sōḻan Nalluruttiran, occurs an elaborate description of the ancient custom of the pastoral tracts called ēṛutaḻuvudal, 'embracing the bull,' and of the practice of choosing husbands from those who come out successful in this adventure. The following is a specimen of the several songs describing this:—
"The herdsman girls who had teeth like mullai buds and white quills arranged in a row, wide cool eyes, lovely speech and ears adorned with bright golden crocodile-shaped earrings, mounted the high platform to witness the capture of the bull by the owner of many

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14 காணிய வாவாழி தோழி வரைத்தாழ்பு
வாணிறங் கொண்ட வருவித்தே நம்மருளா
நாணிலி நாட்டு மலை
ஆர்வுற்றார் நெஞ்ச மழிய விடுவானோ
வோர்வுற் றொருதிற மொல்காத நேர்கோ
லறம்புரி நெஞ்சத் தவன்.
தண்ணறுங் கோங்க மலர்ந்த வறையெல்லாம்
பொன்னணி யானைபோற் றோன்றுமே நம்மருளாக்
கொன்னாள னாட்டு மலை.
கூருநோ யெய்ப்ப விடுவானோ தன்மலை
நீரினுஞ் சாய லுடைய னயந்தோர்க்குத்
தேரீயும் வண்மை யவன்.
வரைமிசை மேற்றொடுத்த நெய்க்க ணிறாஅன்
மழைநுழை திங்கள்போற் றோன்று மிழைநெகிழ
வெவ்வ முறீஇயினான் குன்று.
எஞ்சா தெல்லா கொடுமை நுவலாதி
யஞ்சுவ தஞ்சா வறனிலி யல்லனென்
னெஞ்சம் பிணிக் கொண் டவன்.

Kal, ii, ll. 10-27.

cows who wore fragrant garlands of flowers which grow on rocks and in forests, such as the cassia which has soft clusters, the Kāyā (Memecylon Tinctorium) which has thin flowers, the Veṭci (Ixora coccinea) which has small leaves, the Piḍava, the Kōḍal (white Gloriosa), and the Pāṅgar. They (the girls) reached their platforms. Then the black bull with white legs which, like the stream flowing down the side of the gem-filled hill, had reached the limit of beauty, the specked bull, with beautiful white spots on brown skin, looking like the red cloudy evening sky shining with bright stars, and the brown bull whose horns were bent like the young moon worn by the murderous God (Sivan) and other strong bulls which could fight (were driven into) the stall which was surrounded by fragrant creepers and resembled a large hill where lions, horses, elephants and alligators are assembled together and the rain is pouring. The bulls knew that the herdsmen had jumped into the stall with the desire to embrace them and pricked them with their horns. Then like the red garland around the crescent moon worn by the wielder of the battle-axe round which flames are burning, their horns were red with blood and had guts winding round them. Behold his greatness, dancing before the bull whose horns are wound round by his guts, he takes them with both hands and thrusts them into his stomach, just as when one holds in both hands a bundle of red thread, another parts it into three strands and takes it. O, young maid, see this (feat of strength), here. He, the son of the buffalo-herd, will not return without quelling its strength; he has sprung on the rough back of the fighting bull and embraced it like a garland. Maid, here (another), the son of the cowherd, will not cease to fight; he is

dancing on the (back of the) speckled bull looking like a man punting a canoe in the stream. In the sporting field to which many people have come, the herdsman has embraced the black bull which came like the wind and has crushed out its strength, thus appearing like the Lord when he broke with his feet the neck of Yaman who rides on a buffalo, and deprived him of life. To look at the fight strikes my mind with terror. O, young maid, see this feat of strength. Here he, the son of the shepherd, is lying on the side of the strong white bull, like the black spot on the moon. Behold the strength of the herdsman who is wearing the garland of Kāyā flowers, he has caught hold of the ears of the red bull that rushed on him with limitless speed, and quelled its strength, thus appearing like Māyōn when he caught the horse with a beautiful mane sent by his enemies, tore open its mouth and beat it with his fist. To behold it strikes my mind with terror."[15]

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15 மெல்லிணர்க் கொன்றையு மென்மலர்க் காயாவும்
புல்லிலை வெட்சியும் பிடவுந் தளவுங்
குல்லையுங் குருத்துங் கோடலும் பாங்கருங்
கல்லவுங் கடத்தவுங் கமழ்கண்ணி மலைந்தனர்
பல்லான் பொதுவர் கதழ்விடை கோட்காண்மார்
முல்லை முகையு முருந்து நிரைத்தன்ன
பல்லர் பெருமழைக் கண்ணர் மடஞ்சேர்ந்த
சொல்லர் சுடருங் கனங்குழைக் காதினர்
நல்லவர் கொண்டார் மிடை.
அவர் மிடை கொள,
மணிவரை மருங்கி னருவி போல
வணிவரம் பறுத்த வெண்காற் காரியு
மீன்பூத் தவிர்வரு மந்திவான் விசும்புபோல்
வான்பொறி பரந்த புள்ளி வெள்ளையுங்

கொலேவன் சூடியகுழவித் திங்கள்போல்
வலேயுபு மலிந்த கோடணி சேயும்
பொருமுரண் முன்பிற் புகலேறு பலபெய்
தரிமாவும் பரிமாவுங் களிறுங் கராமும்
பெருமலே விடரகத் தொருங்குடன் குழீஇப்
படுமழை யாடும் வரையகம் போலுங்
கொடிநறை சூழ்ந்த தொழூஉ.
தொழுவினுள், புரிபு புரிபு புக்க பொதுவரைத்
தெரிபு தெரிபு குத்தின வேறு.
ஏற்றின், அரிபரி பறுப்பன சுற்றி
யெரிதிகழ் கணிச்சியோன் சூடிய பிறைக்க
ணுருவ மாலே போலக்
குருதிக் கோட்டொடு குடர் வலந்தன
கோட்டொடு சுற்றிக் குடர்வலந்த வேற்றின்முன்
ஞூடிநின் றக்குடர் வாங்குவான் பீடுகாண்
செந்நூற் கழியொருவன் கைப்பற்ற வந்நூலே
முந்நூலாக் கொள்வானும் போன்ம்.
இகுளே யிஃதொன்று கண்டை யிஃதொத்தன்
கோட்டினத் தாயர் மகனன்றே மீட்டொரான்
போர்புக லேற்றுப் பிணரெருத்திற் றத்துபு
தார்போர் றழீஇ யவன்.
இகுளே யிஃதொன்று கண்டை யிஃதொத்தன்
கோவினத் தாயர் மகனன்றே யோவான்
மறையேற்றின் மேலிருந் தாடித் துறையம்பி
யூர்வான்போற் றோன்று மவன்.
தொழீஇஇ, காற்றுப்போல் வந்த கதழ்விடைக் காரி
யூற்றுக் களத்தே யடங்கக்கொண் டட்டதன் [யை
மேற்றோன்றி நின்ற பொதுவன் றகைகண்டை
யேற்றெருமை நெஞ்சம் வடிம்பி னிடந்திட்டுச்
சீற்றமோ டாருயிர் கொண்டஞான்
றின்னன்கொல்
கூற்றென வுட்கிற்றென் னெஞ்சு.

Age of the poems:

In three of the poems of the Kalittogai occur vague references to Koṛkai, Madura, and the Pāṇḍiyan (without specifying the name of any king). This, together with the fact that the Aryan allusions are so many, indicates that the Kali poems all belong to the VI century A. D. In that century, Aryan culture rapidly got the upper hand and the old landmarks of ancient Tamil life began to disappear from Tamil poetry or take a very secondary place in the life of the people. Aryan tales gathered round the Tamil gods, so far as they could be identified with Aryan gods of similar functions. Religious syncretism reached its climax. The Aryan customs, too, began to be mingled with Tamil customs and Aryan superstitions with Tamil ones. The Madura country was in a state of political anarchy, the Kaḷappāḷa and the Pāṇḍiya, constantly struggling for supremacy. Hence the poems vaguely refer to Pāṇḍiya kings without specifying any one royal patron of letters as do the earlier poems.

இருளை யிஃதொன்று கண்டை யிஃதொத்தன்
புல்லினத் தாயர் மகனன்றே புள்ளி
வெறுத்த வயவெள்ளேற் றம்புடைத் திங்கண்
மறுப்போற் பொருந்தி யவன்
ஓவா வேகமோ டுருத்துத்தன் மேற்சென்ற
சேனைச் செவிமுதற் கொண்டு பெயர்த்தொற்றுங்
காயாம்பூங் கண்ணிப் பொதுவன் றகைகண்டை
மேவார் விடுத்தந்த கூந்தற் குதிரையை
வாய்பகுத் திட்டுப் புடைத்தஞான் றின்னன்கொண்
மாயோனென் றுட்கிற்றென் னெஞ்சு.

Kal. iv. 3 ll. 1-55.

CHAPTER XXIX

REMAINING LITERATURE OF THE AGE BEFORE 600 A. D.

The five Short Hundred:

This anthology contains 5 sets of a hundred stanzas each, one on each of the five tiṇais. Each hundred was composed by one poet and is subdivided into ten sets of ten odes each, each ten on one sub-incident of one of the tiṇais, more or less as defined by Tolkāppiyanār. As each poet definitely set about illustrating the categories of the grammarian, the anthology is not a collection of occasional poems. As they were composed after the Tolkāppiyam had become the supreme directing authority which poets were bound to follow, the odes are wanting in spontaneity and are useless for our purpose. Hence it is not proposed to translate any of these odes. None of the poems could have been composed earlier than the V century A. D..

The Paripāḍal Seventy:

Of the seventy poems of this collection, only twenty-two and a few fragments are available. Of these, six are about Viṣṇu, 8 about Murugan, eight about the river Vaiyai (Vaigai). The shrines, Tirupparaṅ-guṉṟam and Tirumāliruñjōlai are referred to in the songs about gods. The authors' names so far as known show that they belonged to the VI century. This is confirmed by the abundant Aryan allusions and Sanskrit words in the poems. They were set to music by later persons.

A description of the sky during an eclipse in poem 11 has been used in an attempt to fix the date of the composition of the poem by astronomical calculations, but it has proved a failure, because the information in the text is not enough for calculating the date without adventitions unwarranted assumptions and the information supplied by the annotator has made confusion worse confounded.

The poets of the Pāripaḍal belonged to the Madura district, as can be inferred from the subject-matter of their poems, They were apparently content with the blessings of the divine objects of their eulogy.

The Eighteen minor poems:

The Kīḻkkaṇakku, eighteen in number, are contrasted with the mēṟkaṇakku, the name of the eight-fold anthology and the Ten Songs. These eighteen poems range in date from the VI to the VIII century A. D. In two stanzas of the Nālaḍiyār, usually counted as one of the eighteen minor poems, a chief of the Muttaraiyar clan who lived in the VIII century is referred to. These poems are of three classes. (1) One poem dealing with the victory on the field of battle of a Śōḻa king called Śeṅgaṇān, in which the author revels in images of slaughter and of the flow of blood on the battle-field. (2) Five poems dealing with the tiṇais of Agam, like the Five Short hundred. These two represent the dying echoes of the vanishing tradition of old Tamil love and war poetry (Agam and Puṟam). (3) Twelve didactic poems, treating chiefly of ethics, and social conventions which two are sometimes inextricably bound with each other. These poems are imitations of the Sanskrit Nīti Śāstra poems, which

became very popular in this age throughout India. Hence these poems belong to the age when Aryan culture had become very firmly established in South India. Most of the poems of this class can be called poetry only because they are in metrical form. Absolutely devoid of the poetic fire of the earlier Tamil poetry, they are valuable only because, teaching morality of the highest order, such as has not been rivalled by the teachings of any other of the world's teachers, they are put in verse, which can be memorized and quoted when moral lessons are intended to be driven home into the minds of the young. As poetry, they are the dreariest imaginable.

The Tirukkuṟaḷ:

This poem is now well-known to the world, on account of the Latin and English translations of European scholars. These scholars, having been mainly Christian ecclesiastics, have been attracted by the excellent ethics taught in it in a special kind of short stanza, with very much meaning concentrated in very few words. Father Beschi, the greatest of European Tamil scholars, is said to have remarked that the tongue of Tiruvaḷḷuvar who sang the aphorisms of Kuṟaḷ could not have gone to Hell, even though, being Pagan, he must have gone there. It is not necessary to speak of the contents of this poem which has secured the admiration of the world, because translations have made it familiar to enquirers.

The 'short verse' (Kuṟaḷ) of this poem is a very successful imitation of the Sūtra style of Sanskri writers on pseudo-scientific subjects; the Kuṟaḷ Veṇbā is superior to the Sūtra, because it is in poetic form

whereas the latter is in prose. The verse is firmly knit and the author, here and there, uses poetic images to relieve the dreariness of direct didactics. Artists have always refused to admit didactic poetry into the legitimate realms of the Muse, but if excellence of workmanship and the occasional illumination of moral teaching by flashes of true poetie fire can justify the acceptance of any didactic poem as true poetry, the Tirukkuṛaḷ is that poem. A few examples, chosen at random will prove this. "He who guards the five (senses) with the fence of strength is seed for the land of bliss."[1] "Those who lose wealth may blossom (again) in some (future) season (like a tree that bas shed its flowers); those who have lost mercy have lost (everything), and can scarcely change (to a better state)."[2] "As gold shines (more and more) when it is burnt (more and more) in fire, so when pain burns more and more the (mind of the) ascetic, it becomes brighter (and brighter)."[3] "As the bird flies away leaving the nest bare, so is the union of the body and the soul."[4] "The life of the man who does not guard against it before (danger) comes, will be destroyed like straw before the flame."[5] "The world flourishes,

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[1] உரனென்னுந் தோட்டியா னோரைந்துங் காப்பான்
வரனென்னும் வைப்பிற்கோர் வித்து.

Kuṛaḷ. 24.

[2] பொருளற்றார் பூப்ப ரொருகா லருளற்றா
ரற்றார்மற் றாத லரிது.

Kuṛaḷ 248.

[3] சுடச் சுடரும் போன்போ லொளிவிடுந் துன்பஞ்
சுடச்சுட நோற்கிற் பவர்க்கு.

Kuṛaḷ. 267.

[4] குடம்பை தனித்தொழியப் புட்பறந் தற்றே
யுடம்போ டுயிரிடை நட்பு.

Kuṛaḷ. 338.

looking up to the sky (for rain); so subjects look up to the king's sceptre (for protection)."[6] "Like scentless flowers made into a garland are those who cannot clearly expound what they have learnt."[7] "Love is an ocean of joy; but when obstructed it is bigger than the ocean".[8]

The Tirukkuṛaḷ is frequently called Muppāl, the Trivarga, the three objects of life; it is divided into three parts, respectively devoted to Aṛam, Poruḷ, and Inbam, which are Tamil translations of Sanskrit Dharma, Artha and Kāma. In the treatment of the first two, the author borrows freely from Sanskrit Śāstras, for in the Tamil literature before Tiruvaḷḷuvar's time, didactic poetry did not exist. Aṛam, right conduct, such as the constancy of a maiden to her lover, was, if at all, indirectly taught and Poruḷ, the science of politics, had not been developed at all. In the third part, Kamattuppāl, the part dealing with love, Tiruvaḷḷuvar recognized not only the old Tamil distinction between Kaḷavu and Kaṛpu, love before marriage and vice versa, but follows the Tamil poetic tradition of the course of love mainly as

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5 வருமுன்னர்க் காவாதான் வாழ்க்கை யெரிமுன்னர்
வைத்தூறு போலக்கெடும்.

Kuṛaḷ. 435.

6 வானோக்கி வாழு முலகெல்லா மன்னவன்
கோனோக்கி வாழுங் குடி.

Kuṛaḷ. 542.

7 இணரூழ்த்து நாறா மலரனையர் கற்ற
துணர விரித்துரையா தார்.

Kuṛaḷ. 650.

8 இன்பங் கடன்மற்றுக் காம மஃதடுங்காற்
றுன்ப மதனிற் பெரிது.

Kuṛaḷ. 1166

propounded by Tolkāppiyanār. But whether he borrows his material from Sanskrit or follows Tamil tradition, he displays an originality of treatment and a sequence of ideas entirely his own, which contributes much to the merit of the poem.

From the predominance of Aryan ideas and the free use of Sanskrit words, Tiruvaḷḷuvar cannot be assigned to any century earlier than the VI. He was, according to tradition, born at Mylapore (Madras), an ancient seaport in the Pallava dominions. This may well be true for the extent to which Tiruvaḷḷuvar's mind was soaked in Aryan culture could have been easily possible only in the Kāñcī district what had been Aryanized for a thousand years before the poet's time, whereas the rest of Tamil India had come under the spell of Aryan culture just before his time. Early in the VI century Aryan cults—Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, Bauddha and Jaina, were fast displacing, or penetrating into, the older Tamil cults. In the beginning these cults were not much opposed to each other, because no one cult secured royal patronage to the exclusion of the rest. Hence moralists, like Tiruvaḷḷuvar and the authors of other didactic poems of the Padineṇkīḻkkaṇakku, were able to teach pure morality without associating it with the dogmas or the basic philosphical principles of any one of the Aryan cults. Hence Tiruvaḷḷuvar shines forth as one of the world's greatest teachers of pure ethics, without discovering to his readers what particular shade of religion he favoured. Every caste from the Brāhmaṇa to the Paṟaiya, and every religious sect, Vaidika or Avaidika, has claimed the honour of including in its fold this great poet-moralist, but Tiruvaḷḷuvar has during all these ages scornfully refused to be thus labelled.

Absurd legends have been invented about the birth of Tiruvaḷḷuvar and about the publication of his poem. The latter legend says that when it was presented to the "Third Saṅgam," its members refused to admit its merit. They sat on a plank which floated on a tank and when the Tirukkuṛaḷ was placed on it, the plank shrank so small as to afford room only for the book. The members sank in the water and when they came to the bank, composed, each a song, in honour of the poem. These poems are collected in an anthology called Tiruvaḷḷuvamālai, ' the garland for Tiruvaḷḷuvar ' and are generally printed along with the Tirukkuṛaḷ. One absurdity of the legend consists in the fact that among the obtuse members of the Saṅgam was included the God Śivan. Among the men that composed these laudatory stanzas are men of different ages, e. g. Māṅguḍi Marudanār, Uruttiraśanmā, Pāradam Pāḍiya Perundēvanār, Kaviśāgara Perundēvanār, Nariverūttalaiyār, Kulapati Nāyanār, etc., men with Sanskrit names, men with Tamil names fifty-three in number. Perhaps the only kernel of truth in these legends is the jealousy felt by the poets who kept up the old tradition for a poet from the remote, Aryanized Pallava country and for a poem based on Sanskrit culture, and introducing a novel tradition in Tamil literature.

The Indebtedness of the Kuṛaḷ to Sanskrit Literature : *

That the author of the Kuṛaḷ must have been a good Sanskrit scholar and must have made a special

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* This paragraph has been furnished by V.R.R. Dīkṣitar, Lecturer in Indian History, Madras University, who intends bringing out a brochure fully pointing all Tiruvaḷḷuvar' Sanskrit sources.

study of the Nīti and Artha Sāstra literature is evident. A comparison of the stanzas of the Kuṛaḷ with the Sanskrit literature on the subjects shows clearly how Tiruvaḷḷuvar was influenced by the Sanskrit writers on the four objects of human life, the Puruṣārthas of the Aryan sacred books. Tiruvaḷḷuvar has divided his book into three sections as if he were concerned only with the Trivarga. But in dealing with Aṛam or Dharma, he has devoted some sections to the value of renunciation, the means to the fourth Puruṣārtha viz., Mokṣa. Apparently Tiruvaḷḷuvar thought that the Trivarga, if properly followed, would automatically lead to the realization of Mokṣa. Whatever this may be, the Kuṛaḷ is a treatise on the three objects of human life.[9] It is reasonable to assume that Tiruvaḷḷuvar follows mainly in his Aṛappāl the most popular Dharma Śāstra of Manu, and in his Poruṭpāl the well-known Artha Śastra of Kauṭalya. Though these works seem to be the main sources of information, it can be conclusively proved that the poet was familiar with the Pañcatantra and Hitopadeśa, the ślokas included in the Śatakas of Bhartṛhari, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the Kamandaki nītisāra, and other allied literature. Many of these books range from the VI century B. C. to the IV century A. D. and Bhartṛhari's works (c. 650 A. D.) contain verses from the Śākuntala of Kālidāsa, the Mudrārākṣasa of Viśākhadatta and other well-known works. The same is true of several stanzas occurring in the Pañcatantra and the Hitopadeśa. These claim no originality. Apparently floating nīti verses have

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[9] See Dīkṣitar, Hindu Administrative Institutions, p. 35 ff.

been incorporated in these works, with a view to popularize them. Hence from the consideration of the obligations of Tiruvaḷḷuvar to Sanskrit works, his date cannot be fixed.

The following among a host of examples will prove this indebtedness.

The Kuṛaḷ says:

'He is a householder who is actuated by the best of motives and who does good by maintaining the other three orders.'[10] The Mānava Dharma Śāstra rules to this effect: 'The householder's life is the best, as it is he who sustains daily the other three orders by means of virtuous deeds and the giving of alms.'[11]

'He attains fame in the seven worlds, who, reduces the five into one, like a tortoise.[12] The Bhagavad Gītā furnishes a parallel: 'Bliss comes to him who restrains the senses from objects of desire, as a tortoise withdraws all her limbs (into its shell)'.[13]

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10 இல்வாழ்வா னென்பா னியல்புடைய மூவர்க்கு
நல்லாற்றி னின்ற துணை.
Kuṛal. 41.

11 Yasmātrayo' thyāśramiṇo jñānenānnena cānvaham | Gṛhasthenaiva dhāryante tasmājjyeṣṭāśramo gṛhī ॥.
Man. 3. 78.

12 ஒருமையு ளாமைபோ லைந்தடக்க லாற்றி
னெழுமையு மேமாப் புடைத்து. Kuṛaḷ. 126.

13 Yadā samharate cāyam kūrmongānīva sarvaśaḥ | Indriyāṇīndriyārthebhyastasyaprajñā pratiṣṭitā ॥.
Ib. II. 58.

'Where can you find grace in him who feeds his flesh with the flesh of other creatures.'[14] In Manu, 'He is devoid of virtue who desires to feed the flesh of his body with the flesh of other creatures, except as oblations to the manes and the deities.'[15]

'When one gets rid of lust, anger and delusion of all kinds, then shall perish all his troubles.'[16] In the Gītā, 'That man who gives up all desires and leads a life bereft of lust anger and delusion shall attain bliss.'[17]

'He is a lion among kings who owns the following six requisites ; an army, a territory of peoples, wealth, ministry, allies and fortresses.'[18] The Arthaśāstra mentions seven elements of a state[19] including the king. Leaving out the king the other six are a ministry, a country, fortresses, an army, allies.

'There must be a well conceived plan of work before actually doing it lest the world will not approve

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14 தன்னூன் பெருக்கற்குத் தான்பிறி தூனுண்பா
னெங்ஙன மாளு மருள். Kuṛaḷ. 251

15 Svamāmsam paramāmsena vardhayitumicchati |
anabhyarcya pitṛn devāstathonyo nāstyapuṇyakṛt. || .
Ib v. 52.

16 காமம் வெகுளி மயக்க மிவைமூன்றி
னாமங் கெடக்கெடு நோய். Kuṛaḷ. 360

17 Vihāya kāmānyaḥ sarvān pumāncarati nityaśaḥ |
Nirmamo nirahaṅkāraḥ sa śāntimadhigacchati ||
Ib. II. 71.

18 படை குடி கூழமைச்சு நட்பர ணாறு
முடையா னரசரு ளேறு. Kuṛaḷ 381

19 Svāmyamātyajanapada durga kośadaṇḍamitrāṇi.
Bk. VI Ch. I.

of it and even despise it.[20] The ruling of Parāśara is that the king must consult with the ministers as to the plan and execution of a work, before he launches on it,[21] 'One should examine before he undertakes an expedition the force it would demand, his own force and that of his allies as well as the strength of his enemy.'[22] Kauṭalya says, 'one undertakes an expedition if one thinks 'I have enough strength to vanquish the enemy by my own force or that of the allies,' and 'to the contrary is that of the enemy."[23]

'Those will be appointed (to a Government job) who will fully satisfy the fourfold test of dharma, wealth, pleasure and fear.'[24] The Artha Śāstra mentions similar tests before one is entertained for service—the test of dharma, artha, kāma and bhaya.[25]

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[20] எள்ளாத வெண்ணிச் செயல் வேண்டுந் தம்மொடு
கொள்ளாத கொள்ளாதுலகு.

Kuṛaḷ. 470.

[21] Yadasya kāryamabhipretam tatpratirūpakam mantriṇāḥ pṛcchet. | Kāryamidamevamāsīdevam vā yadi bhavettat katham kartavyamiti te yathā brūyus tat kuryāt. (Artha Śās. I. ch. 15).

[22] வினைவலியுந் தன்வலியு மாற்றான் வலியுந்
துணைவலியுந் தூக்கிச் செயல்.

Kuṛaḷ. 471.

[23] Yadi vā paśyet—"svadaṇḍair mitrāṭavīdaṇḍair vā samam jyāyamsam vā karśayitumutsahe" iti ......sampannā me vartā, vipannā parasya......

(Artha Śās. Bk VII. 4).

[24] அறம்பொருளின் பமுயிரச்ச நான்கின்
திறந் தெரிந்து தேறப்படும்.

Kuṛaḷ. 501.

[25] dharmopadhā, arthopadhā, kāmopadhā, bhayopadhā (see for details Arth. Śās. Bk. I, ch. 10)

Trivargabhayasamśudhānamātyānsveṣu karmasu
adhikuryādyathāśaucamityācāryā vyavasthitāḥ

'Let the king watch the movements of his servants every day. If they do the right, the world goes undisturbed.'[26] 'Having appointed the servants in their places after the tests, the king must observe their conduct by means of secret officers.[27]

'The proper method of awarding justice is to fully examine everything, in an impartial spirit, and with due regard to dharma'.[28] 'It is daṇḍa that protects both this world and the other. In meting out justice the king must regard both sons and foes as equal. He who metes out punishment with proper regard to dharma and equity, he alone conquers the whole world.'[29]

'If the king does not extend his hand of right protection, then cows will not yield milk, neither will the

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26 நாடோறு நாடுக மன்னன் வினைசெய்வான்
கோடாமை கோடா துலகு.
Kuṛaḷ. 520.

27 tasmādbāhyamadhiṣṭānam kritvā kārye caturvidhe
Śaucāśaucamamātyānām rāja mārgeta satribhiḥ.
(Arth. Śās. Bk. I 10).
Cp. Rām. VII. 53-6.

8 ஓர்ந்துகண்ணோடா திறைபுரிந் தியார்மாட்டுந்
தேர்ந்து செய் வஃதே முறை. Kuṛal. 541.

29 Daṇḍo hi kevalo lokam param cemam rakṣati |
Rājñāputrecaśatrau ca yathādoṣam samam dhṛtah ||
Anuśāsaddhi dharmeṇa vyavahāreṇa samsthayā |
Nyāyena ca caturthena caturantām mahīm jayet ||
(Artha. Śās. Bk. III. Ch. I).

Brāhmaṇas cultivate their sacred lore.'[30] 'If daṇḍanīti is not properly administered, the three vedas will vanish and with it all righteous deeds.' Again, 'the duties of āśramas again disappear when the kṣatrya dharma of the king becomes lost.'[31]

'It can be called a land where there are unfailing crops, a company of righteous men, and ample wealth. It is a land which men desire to possess on account of its fertility, and undiminished yield, and which is free from calamities.'[32] 'That grāma must be chosen for dwelling by the righteous where fuel, water, food, sacred grass, and garlands and vast open spaces are in plenty, where there are many wealthy people, where there are many honourable people, full of the quality of enthusiasm, and which affords defence from robbers.'[33]

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30 ஆபயன் குன்று மறுதொழிலோர் நூன்மறப்பர்
காவலன் காவானெனின்.

Kuṛaḷ. 560.

31 Mañcetrayī daṇḍanītau hatāyām
Sarve dharmāḥ prakṣayeyuḥ viruddhāḥ |
Sarve dharmāścāśramāṇām hatāsyuḥ
Kṣātre naṣṭe rājadharme purāṇe ||

Mhb. Śānti, 112, 28.

32 தள்ளா விளையுளுந் தக்காருந் தாழ்விலாச்
செல்வருஞ் சேர்வது நாடு.
பெரும்பொருளாற் பெட்டக்க தாகியருங்கேட்டா
லாற்ற விளைவது நாடு.

Kuṛaḷ. 731-732.

33 Prabhūtaidhodakayavasasamitkuśamālyopaniṣkramaṇamāḍhyajanākulamanalasasamṛddhamāryajana-bhūyiṣṭhamadasyupraveśyam grāmamāvasitum yateta dhārmikaḥ |. Baudhāyana dharma sūtra Praśna II; adhyāya III, sūtra 51.

The Śilappadigāram :

This is the first great epic poem in Tamil. The Epic form was borrowed from Sanskrit, but with respect of the subject-matter it is entirely original. The poem as we now have it is interspersed with a number of prologues, and epilogues, apparently by later hands than those of the author. It has already been pointed out that one of the prologues contradicts the statements in third canto.[34] The poem itself does not name the Pāṇḍiyan whose foolish behaviour brought about the destruction of Madura which is the final catastrophe of the poem ; but the epilogue to the second canto identifies him with the Neḍuñjeḻiyan who defeated the army of the Āryas and who composed Puṛam 183. It says, " He conquered the army of the Northen Āryas and saw the Southern Tamil country united. Along with his queen of incomparable chastity, on his royal throne, he died, the Pāṇḍiyan Neḍuñjeḻiyan."[35].

Thus the writer of the epilogue interprets the phrase ஆரியப் படை கடந்த as " having defeated the Northern Aryans " whereas it may also mean, having crossed the place called Āryappaḍai, an ancient battle-field near Kumbhakoṇam.

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[34] Vide p. 380, supra.

[35] வடவாரியர் படைகடந்து
தென்றமிழ்நா டொருங்குகாணப்
புரைதீர் கற்பின் றேவி தன்னுட
னரைசு கட்டிலிற் றுஞ்சிய பாண்டிய
னெடுஞ் செழியன்

Śil. Epil. to canto II. ll. 14-18.

Cantos I and II:

The poem is divided into three cantos, the scenes being laid respectively at Pugār, Madura and Vañji. But cantos I and II constitute a finished poem. Śilappadigāram means 'the Book of the Anklet' and relates the story of a reformed prodigal, Kōvalan, who proposed to sell his wife's anklets for setting up business, but was executed, on a false charge of theft by the orders of the king of Madurai, whereupon the infuriated wife, Kaṇṇagi, cursed the king and screwed out one of her breasts and threw it at the town, and a fire springing from it burnt down the city. The husband and wife thereon ascended to heaven. This story is narrated in the first two cantos, which therefore constitute a complete poem. At the end of the II canto the hero and heroine depart from the earth and the story of the anklet ends and we hear no more of the jewel. So the name Śilappadigāram can apply only to the first two cantos. The two cantos form one of the greatest epic poems of the world. The story is exceedingly well told. The descriptions of natural scenery and of the manners and customs of people are splendid. The dialogues that occur often are very spirited. And above all, thanks to the Tamil poetic tradition which the Sanskrit models the had author before him could not suppress, the deus ex machina is kept practically out of sight and the tendency of epic poets to indulge in the marvellous is well held under control, though the legends about kings current in the author's time are not excluded from the poem. The persons of the narrative are all ordinary human beings and the human interest of the poem is not eclipsed by the intrusion of the preternatural. Henece this epic

poem is in certain respects superior to the Rāmayaṇam, or the Iliad, the Aeneid or the Paradise Lost.

Canto III :

The third canto has a Śēra king, Seṅguṭṭuvan, as its hero and it deals with the greatness of this monarch and his victorious expedition to Northern India. The connection with the first two cantos is kept up by making out the object of the expedition to be to fetch a piece of stone from the Himalayas and by describing, in the manner prescribed in the Poruḷadigāram[36] of Tolkāppiyam, how the stone was set up in honour of Kaṇṇagi, accompanied with Aryan and Tamil rites. Hence the third canto cannot with any appropriateness be called Śilappadigāram, the Book of the Anklet. It is a question worth investigation, whether the author of the complete poem i. e., the first and second cantos, after dismissing the anklet from hls purview and despatching

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[36] காட்சி கால்கோ ணீர்ப்படை நடுகல்
சீர்த்தகு சிறப்பிற் பெரும்படை வாழ்த்தல்.

Poruḷadigāram. 60. 19-20.

The different incidents of this ceremony are 'Getting the stone, outlining the figure on it, washing it, fixing it in the ground, making offerings to it and blessing it.' In accordance with this the chapters of canto III dealing with this subject are called respectively காட்சிக்காதை, கால்கோட்காதை, நீர்ப்படைக்காதை, நடுகற்காதை, which includes the offering, சிறப்பிற் பெரும்படை, and வாழ்த்துக்காதை. Thus the third canto belongs to the age when the Tolkāppiyam had changed from a descriptive grammar to a prescriptive one.

his hero and heroine to heaven, deliberately ruined the unity of his Epic by adding a third canto, whose chief object was to glorify a Śenguṭṭuvan. I do not think such a great artist would have thus spoilt his own poem. Moreover the supernatural, so much in the background in the first two cantos, is very prominent in the third. Again in the first two cantos, the country through which Kōvalan and Kaṇṇagi travelled, from Pugār to Madura, via Śrīraṅgam, is minutely and beautifully described in several chapters, whereas in Canto III, Śenguṭṭuvan leaves the Nīlagiris and then immediately appears on the banks of the Ganges, and vice versa on the return journey ; thus the author avoids the splendid opportunities of describing the scenery of the Deccan, the Vindhyas, and the Gangetic valley through which Śenguṭṭuvan ought to have passed. In addition, tales of past lives, such as were popularized by the Bauddhas, abound in this canto. Hence I suggest that some qualified Tamil scholars will investigate by means of metrical tests, and, by examining the diction and imagery employed, find out whether the third canto is by the same author as the first two.

Śeṅguṭṭuvan :

Śeṅguṭṭuvan is the hero of the third canto. The author identifies him with Kaḏal Piṟakkoṭṭiya Vēlkeḻu Kuṭṭuvan, the hero of Paraṉar's poem, the fifth ode in the Padiṟṟuppattu, and attributes the latter's exploits mentioned in that ode to Śeṅguṭṭuvan. But neither the name Śeṅguṭṭuvan nor his expedition to North India is mentioned in the ode. Kuṭṭuvan, Śēral, etc. were the general titles of all Śēra kings, as Kiḻḻi, Valavan, etc., of Śōla kings and Śeḻiyan, Vaḻudi, etc., of Pāṇḍiya kings.

When a specific name had to be given to any one of these kings (and this was not always necessary, because for ordinary purposes the mere dynastic title was enough, and there was a general sentiment against the use of personal names of kings), an epithet was prefixed to the family name, e.g., Peruñjēral, Kaḍal Piṟakkōṭṭiya Vēlkeḻu Kuṭṭuvan, Perunaṟkiḷḷi, Karikāl Vaḷavan, Neḍuñjeḻiyan, Ukkirapperuvaḻudi, etc. This was the only kind of personal names used by Tamil kings till, after the spread of the Āryan cults, they took to Sanskrit titles, and Sankrit names of gods. Hence as Kaḍal Piṟakkōṭṭiya Vēl Keḻu Kuṭṭuvan and Śeṅguṭṭuvan were both personal names, if they were the same person, it would be a case of one man having two names, which was not usual in old times. The exploits of Śeṉguṭṭuvan described in the third canto of Śilappadigāram are as incredible as those of the hero of Paraṇar's ode are credible. He marches from the Nilagiris to the banks of the Ganges without any trouble. The poem makes Nūṟṟuvar Kannar, whose sway extended from the Nīlagiris in theNorthen boundary of the Śēra country to the Gangetic region offer rather humbly to help Śeṅguṭṭuvan to reach his destination. The phrase Nūṟṟuvar Kannar cannot be anything other than a bad translation of Śātakani. The Śātakani sway extended upto the Ganges region only before 77 A. D., from whence it gradually shrank before the increasing power of the Śaka-Pallavas. Canto III then makes Śeṉguṭṭuvan defeat a number of Trans-Gangetic monarchs, for whose existence there is no other evidence, literary or epigraphical, and makes two of the kings carry on their heads the stone which was to represent the deceased lady Kaṇṇagi. All these must be

fables, because the transport of an army of the size necessary for the purpose of fighting with the Trans-Gangetic monarchs is a thing that can be imagined only by a Tamil poet ignorant of the geography of India. Indian history affords only one instance of a Tamil army marching up to the banks of the Ganges, and that was the army of Rajēndra Śōḻadēvar, whose sway already extended to the Mahanādī and from that river to the Ganges it is but a short step. The only other instance of the march of an army from Delhi to Ramēśvaram is that of the expedition of Malik Kāfur, but right up to the heart of Teliṅgāna i. e. more than half the distance was already a part of the Delhi Sultanate. We are thus forced to conclude that Śeṅguṭṭuvan's northern expedition was invented by a poetignorant of Indian Geography, and could apper credible only to those ignorant of Indian History. This is another reason why the third canto of Śilappadigāram, even though it be conceded to be a genuine part, and not a supplement, of the poem, ought not to be used as a reliable source of ancient South Indian history.

The Kaṇṇagi cult :

The third canto is mainly concerned with the Kaṇṇagi-cult, supposed to have been established by Śeṅguṭṭuvan and adopted by the kings of Mālva, Uṟaiyūr and Ceylon. There is no trace of that cult any where in India ; it is still to some extent prevalent in Ceylon, the Buddhism of that island having given it some kind of shelter. In South India, on the contrary, the only Pattini cult that is universally spread is not the worship of Kaṇṇagi, but is a modification of the ancient worship of the village guardian-goddess, regarded as an aspect of Kāḷī and syncretized with

Draupadī, the pattini par excellence, though the common wife of five brothers. Hence it is probable that the third canto of Śilappadigāram represents an abortive attempt to introduce the Kaṇṇagi-cult as the rival of the Draupadī-cult.

Need for further investigation:

All this may appear as a piece of hypercriticism, especially to those who have regarded every statement in the Śilappadigāram, including the Prologues and Epilogues and commentaries which certainly belong to comparatively recent times, as gospel truth. But I hope that my tentaive suggestion will at least lead to a study of the poem according to modern methods of criticism. By mixing up all these statements and those in the prologue to the Maṇimēgalai, the theory has arisen that the former poem was composed by Iḷaṅgovaḍigal, a Jaina Sanyāsī and brother of Śeṅguṭṭuvan, on information supplied by Śāttanār, who claims to have been in Madura when the final catastophe of Śilappadigāram took place and who is believed to have composed the Maṇimēgalai. But this theory cannot be accepted because an examination of "the twin-epics" shows that the Śilappadigāram refers to a period when the Tamil concepts and practices were just blending with each other, each being as important as the other in the life of the Tamil people: not so the Maṇimēgalai, which pourtrays the life in the Tamil country when the (Aryan) Bauddha cult had displaced the ancient Tamil cults, and Aryan culture had so dominated the Tamil land that the characters of Maṇimēgalai have all Sanskrit names. The discussions on logic and metaphysics contained in this poem distinctly point to the VII century as the age before

which it could not have been composed.[37] The former poem on the other hand belongs to the age (VI century A. D.) when the Aryan culture and the Aryan religious cults had just made headway and the ancient Tamil culture and Tamil religious cults had not yet been driven down to the lowest strata of society and thus made to disappear from the purview of poets. The Maṇimēgalai is the Bauddha rival of the Jaina epic, Śīvakazindāmaṇi and not the companion-epic of Śilappdigāram, notwithstanding the relationship of the girl Maṇimēgalai to the courtezan Mādavi. The tales of reincarnations and the philosophical disputes in the Maṇimēgalai, form a sharp contrast to the proclamation of the priestess of Koṟṟavai and the consequent worship of the goddess in the Vēṭṭuvavari and the dance of the cowherdesses to avert evil in the Āycciyar Kuravai, in canto II of Silappadigāram, where the reader can see the actual process of the syncretization of Aryan and Tamil divinities which was then going on. The Śilappadigāram is certainly later than the poems in the early anthologies, for in Agam, Vēṅgaḏam is described as belonging partly to Tiraiyar and partly to Kaḷḷar and the famous temple on its top is not at all mentioned; but the Śilappadigāram describes two Viṣṇu shrines as existing in the period when it was written. It refers to "the beautiful sight of Him on whose breast resides Śrī, and who lies, while many hymn him, in the broad island of the Kāviri beaten by the waves, on the serpent-couch, strong so as to be inaccessible, looking like the blue cloud lying so as to fit closely on to a gold coloured

[37] Vide an exhaustive study of the subject by S. Kuppuswami Śāstrī, pp. 192-201, Journal of Oriental Research, Madras I. ii.

hill; and the beautiful sight of the tall, red-eyed God (Viṣṇu) standing on the top of the high hill of Vēṅgaḍam, from which streamlets take their rise, while He shines with a garment made of gold flowers and wears a beautiful garland on His breast, and holds in His magnificent lotus hands the discus that kills enemies and the chank-shell white like milk, as stands the beautiful-hued cloud in the space between the sun and the moon which shine with rays that spread all round, being clothed in the creeper (called) the lightning and holding (in its hand) the bright bow."[38]

The description of the idols of Śrīraṅgam and Vēṅgaḍam in the Śilappadigāram disproves once for all the theory of its contemporaneity with the later odes in

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[38] நீல மேக நெடும்பொற் குன்றத்துப்
பால்விரிந் தகலாது படிந்தது போல
வாயிரம் விரித்தெழு தலையுடை யருந்திறற்
பாயற் பள்ளிப் பலர்தொழு தேத்த
விரிதிரைக் காவிரி வியன்பெருந் துருத்தித்
திருவமர் மார்பன் கிடந்த வண்ணமும்
வீங்குநீ ரருவி வேங்கட மென்னு
மோங்குயர் மலையத் துச்சி மீமிசை
விரிகதிர் ஞாயிறுந் திங்களும் விளங்கி
யிருமருங் கோங்கிய விடைநிலைத் தானத்து
மின்னுக் கொடி யுடுத்து விளங்குவிற் பூண்டு
நன்னிற மேக நின்றது போலப்
பகையணங் காழியும் பால்வெண் சங்கமுந்
தகைபெறு தாமரைக் கையி னேந்தி
நலங்கிள ரார மார்பிற் பூண்டு
பொலம்பூ வாடையிற் பொலிந்து தோன்றிய
செங்க ணெடியோன் நின்ற வண்ணமும்.

Śil. xi. ll. 35-51.

the early four anthologies. This contemporaneity rests on the fact that Paraṇar sang of Kuṭṭuvan who drove back the sea with his spear, and Iḷaṅgōvaḍigal, the supposed author of canto III, among others, of the epic, sang of the great hero, Śeṅguttuvan, believed to be the same person. But neither Paraṇar, nor others of his real contemporaries describe Vēngaḍam as having the famous temple on its top, a fact which no one singing of Vēnga-ḍam after the temple had become famons could omit to mention. Hence the author of Śilappadigāram, whoever he was, must have been a much later person than Paraṇar and lived when temples of the Aryan Viṣṇu cult had not only risen in the Tamil Country, but had acquired a very wide reputation for supreme holiness.

The argument from silence is of course a weak one; but, when taken into consideration along with others, it may be given some weight. The Vēṅgaḍam shrine had become so famous in the age of Śilappadigāram that the author when speaking of the northern boundary of the Tamil Country, calls it neḍiyōn kunṛam, 'the hill of Viṣṇu.'[39] The phrase comes so naturally that it is difficult to believe that such a description could have escaped the minds of the Agam poets if the temple had reached in their time the eminence it did in the age of Śilappadigāram.

It may, also be remarked that the style of the Śilappidagāram strikes one as relatively more modern, and less charged with old words, than that of the odes of the early anthologies. It is certain that the modern man can follow the epic with much less difficulty than the old odes. The Maṇimēgalai looks still more recent

[39] Śil. viii. l. 1.

in vocabulary and even more easy to the modern man than the Śilappadigāram.

Before closing this section I wish to reiterate the conclusion, which I offer as a tentative hypothesis, that the Śilappadigāram is a double poem, each poem by a different author, cantos I and II being a splendid romantic poem and canto III being a legend about a mythical hero's exploits. To use it as a source of history would be like using Shakespeare as an authority on the geography of Bohemia or the Mid-summer Night's Dream as a historical poem. I request Tamil scholars acquainted with the principles of modern literary and historical criticism to further investigate the question and either confirm or disprove the hypothesis. The prologues and the epilogues and, to invent a term, the interlogues, being composed by later writers can, of course, be of little use in solving the problem.

CHAPTER XXX

THE WELDING OF THE OLD AND THE NEW.

The Pāṇḍiyas in the VI century:

Notwithstanding the 'Kaḷabhra interregnum,' a bad phrase invented by the epigraphists, because it suggests the wrong notion that the Pāṇḍiya power disappeared till it was restored at the end of the VI century by Kaḏuṅgōn, Pāṇḍiya chieftains must have flourished in the period. The colophons to the Puṛam odes mention seven Pāṇḍiya chiefs; the poets that sang of them were late ones, from whose other works it may be shown that they belonged to the VI century. Moreover the Kalittogai and other poems discussed in the immediately preceding chapters refer to Pāṇḍiyas generally without naming the kings; hence it may be inferred that they were kings whose power scarcely extended beyond their capitals. This made it possible for the Kaḷabhras to be soon driven off from the Madura district, a little before 600 A. D. and for the Pāṇḍiya power to be re-established throughout the Madura country. In the VI century, the Jainas and the Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas were struggling to gain popularity with the common people. In that century Śiva-worship gained so much popularity that numerous tales of miracles performed by the Śivan enshrined at Madura, including His formation of the Tamil Śaṅgam in that city, were evolved, for we find one of the Tales, viz. that the story of His entering the Śaṅgam and helping a poor Brāhmaṇa

Tarumi, to gain a purse of gold,[1] is referred to by Tirunāvukkaraśunāyanār,[2] very early in the VII century. In the Sixth century must have lived at Madura Mūrttināyanār, who, according to the Periyapurāṇam legend was persecuted by a Karnāṭaraja and who overthrew that Rāja and became king of Madura and re-established Śiva worship there.

The Śōḻa Country in the VI century;

The Jaina and the Śaiva, and the Vaiṣṇava cults spread largely in the Śōḻa territories in this epoch. It has been already pointed out that Śrīraṅgam had attained popularity before the Śilappadigāram was written. The Kōyiloḻugu, a legendary history of the Śriraṅgam temple preserved in the temple records, speaks of an early Śōḻa king, who first unearthed the temple which had been (originally built by the gods ?) and buried in the Kāviri alluvium. It also narrates the story of a Śōḻa king of Uṟaiyūr, whose daughter dedicated herself to the Srīraṅgam deity, married him according to the Ārya ritual and then vanished, having attained union (Sāyujya) with the God. An idol of her is still worshipped in the temple of Uṟaiyūr. Whether there is any foundation in fact for these legends, they were certainly evolved in the VI century B. C., for after that century the Śōḻas disappeared from history for more than two centuries.

Śeṅgaṇān :

A Śōḻa king of this period was Śeṅgaṇān. He is the hero of a poem by Poygaiyār (perhaps the same

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[1] See Tiruvālavāyuḍaiyār Tiruviḷaiyādaṟ purāṇam 16, for the story.

[2] Vide p. 245 supra.

person as Poygaiyā̱lvār, one of the earliest of the Vaiṣṇava hymnists). The poem is called Kaḷavaḷi Nāṟpadu, and contains forty stanzas describing in a very bloodthirsty vein, the Śōḻa king's battle with Śēran Kaṇaikkāl Irumboṟai.[3] The Periyapurāṇam has a legend that before being born as a Śōḻa king, he was a spider full of devotion to Śivan. Pārvati, in one of her mortal lives had worshipped a Śīvaliṅgam in the bed of the Kāviri and the spider daily wove a web on the top of the liṅgam to protect it from the heat of the sun; but an elephant, also a devotee of that Śivan, brought water daily from the Kāviri in its trunk and washed the liṅgam and incidentally destroyed the spider's web. The spider, filled with religious fury, flew into the nose of the big beast, which, being suffocated, died. In its dying pangs, it beat its proboscis on the earth and the spider also died and was reborn as Śeṅgaṇān.

Though the hero of a legend, Śeṅgaṇān was a historic person. Tirumangai Ā̱lvār, the Vaiṣṇava hymnist of the VIII century A. D, says Śeṅgaṇān built seventy beautiful temples to the "eight-shouldered Lord" (Śivan)[4] and repeats in every stanza of the Tirunaṟaiyūr decade that he worshipped Viṣṇu enshrined in the temple of that village. The Śaiva hymnists, Tiruñānasambandar and Sundaramūrti, refer to Śeṅgaṇān's building Śiva-temples in very

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3 Vide p. 411 supra for a legend about these two kings.

4 இருக்கிலங்கு திருமொழிவா யெண்டோ ளீசற்கு
எழில்மாட மெழுபதுசெய் துலகமாண்ட
திருக்குலத்து வளச்சோழன் சேர்ந்தகோயில்
திருநறையூர் மணிமாடம் சேர்மின்களே.

many poems of theirs[5]. When the Śaiva hagiology was finally made up in the IX century, Śeṅgaṇān was included in the list of the Sixty three Śaiva Saints (nāyanmār). But he was, as has been pointed out, also, a Vaiṣṇava devotee. He belonged to the end of the VI century A. D., when the Śaivas and the Vaiṣṇavas were combining together in the common cause of the so-called Vedic orthodoxy as against the Bauddhas and the Jainas.

Kōpperūñjōḻan.

This Śōḻa monarch lived also in the VI century. In his ode (Puṟam. 214) the Ārya doctrine of reincarnation is discussed. He also underwent, along with some courtier bards, the Jaina ceremony of Sallekhana, called in Tamil, 'Sitting in the north.' Whereas other kings killed themselves to wipe out the disgrace of defeat, he did it for the purpose of release from embodied existence, and therefore he must have been a Jaina.

In thc Sēra country.

The Śēra country, called Damirike by the Greeks, came earlier under Aryan influence than the rest of South India. Therefore we find in the odes dedicated to the Śēra kings and in the Padiṟṟuppatu plenty of

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'Go to the ornamented temple of Tirunaṟaiyur, which was resorted to by the Śōḻa of the fortunate family, who ruled the earth and built seventy beautiful temples to the eight-shouldered Iśvara whose mouth shines with the holy words of the Ṛg Veda.

[5] For instance, Tiruñānasambandar's decade on Tiruvaiganmāḍakkoil, st. 1, 4, 5, and on Tiruvambar, st. 1, Sundaramūrti's on Tirunannilam, st. 10, and on Tirunaṟaiyūr, st. 1,

evidence of the fact that that country was more completely Aryanized than the Pāṇḍiya and the Śōḻa lands.

Temples:

Before the IV century **A. D.**, of Arya temples there were few or none in the Tamil country. In the VI century, we learn that Kāñcī, Vēṅgaḍam, Śrīrangam, and Madura temples had become famous. From the VII century onwards, the hymnists sang in praise of numerous temples in the Pallava, Śōḻa, Pāṇḍiya and Śēra provinces. Therefore all these, which are the living temples of South India, i.e.. those which are renowned for their holiness ever since the hymnists sang of them and where pūja is still being daily performed, must have arisen in the VI century A. D. Śeṅgaṇān's was only one specimen of the extensive temple-building activities of this century. These temples were of timber and brick, the latter being used chiefly for the foundation. The old Indian forests had not yet been entirely destroyed and so there was plenty of timber available for building temples. As in Travancore to-day, the timber-roof was probably covered with copper-sheets and rarely with plates of god, as Karikāl "renewed the temple of Kāñcī with gold." Mahendra Pallava (c. 600-625 A.D.) first started the fashion of stone temples, by excavating them from the sides of hills. His successor, Narasimha, carved whole rocks into temples. Structural temples then began to appear and the early Tanjore Śōḻa kings (IX and X centuries A. D.) pulled down and rebuilt in stone the garbha-gṛhas (small inner shrines) of all these temples These early Śōḻa structures consisted but of a small shrine and a 'half-maṇṭapa' in front and no more. In later times were added more maṇṭapas, and procession paths walled in and numerous additional shrines, and

the temple became so complex in structure that it offends against the taste of the foreign art-critic who looks for unity of design and finds none. A few of these Śōḻa shrines were pulled down in later times, and rebuilt on a larger scale. This process is going on in our own times, so that when we say that a certain temple is ancient, we mean that the temple sites as well as possibly the original stone or brick or wooden idol, and not the building, belongs to old times.

The Gods. With the rise to popularity of Śivan and Viṣṇu, the old Tamil Gods were either amalgamated with the newer ones or otherwise assimilated with them or practically died out. Thus Māyōn easily became Kriṣṇa specifically as in the Malabar country or Viṣṇu generally in other places. Sēyōn coalesced with Subrahmaṇya; the sky-god and the sea-god practically disappeared, for it is in the rich valleys or the richer seaports that Śivan and Viṣṇu have triumphed. The tree-gods have beecome one with Śiva, and animal totems like the kite, the ape, the elephant, the bull, the rat, the peacock and the serpent have become vehicles or ornaments or parts of the bodies of the major gods. Śakti, whose worship became popular late even in Northern India and that as the rival of the Bauddha worship of Tārā, became generally in South India, Lakṣmi, wife of Viṣṇu or Pārvati, wife of Śiva, who shine in the reflected glory of their husbands, where they are given a place in temples. The boundary and other petty spirits still claim the allegiance of the less advanced peeple and proved too insignificant to be absorbed.

The Bhakti cult:

It has been often pointed out in this book that the concrete appealed to the Tamil mind much more than

the abstract, that the Tamils were incurable optimists in that they did not regard the joys that Providence has provided for men in this world as sinful in themselves, and they did not consider that the "objects of the senses", as the Āryas called them, existed only to be renounced; hence developed amongst them poetry of the most realistic type. It is therefore but to be expected that when to the Tamils were presented numerous marvellous stories of Viṣṇu and Śivan appearing frequently in human bodies for the purpose of helping men in their material and spiritual difficulties, they became passionately attached to one or the other of these Gods. The Bauddha and the Jaina cults, when they first appeared in Northern India, depended for their popularity on the personal devotion of their adherents to their human founders, the Siddhatta and the Jina. But very soon this personal devotion vanished from their minds and was succeeded by the endless verbiage of metaphysical subtleties. This, and not persecution by men, was the real cause of the decline of those cults within a few centuries of their birth. Not logical word-chopping, but rich emotional experience, can alone be the proper pabulum for the religiously inclined mind. When these two cults competed with the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava cults in South India, they were overlaid with the metaphysical outgrowth which choked out all mystic experience and hence they collapsed before the worship of Śivan or Viṣṇu, which enabled the devotees to feel the flow of the fertilizing stream of what they felt to be God's grace into their souls. So the Saiva and the Vaiṣṇava cults spread to the exclusion of the Bauddha and Jaina cults and have produced an endless stream of devotional literature, whereas Tamil Bauddha and Jaina literature dried up in a few centuries.

No doubt the metaphysics of the Sāṅkhya and the Vedānta did enter into the cults of Śiva and Viṣṇu in course of time, and produce an outcrop of philosophical books in Tamil, but the essential nature of these religions has not been affected by these philosophies; Viṣṇu and Śivan have continued to hold the imagination of the masses as foci of devotion "unbroken as the flow of oil" to a Personal Lord, and the inspiring aim of these cults has continued to be to seek personal salvation by the means of the voluntary flow of Divine Grace.

This unbounded devotion to a Personal God has found concrete expression in the numerous temples that raise their lofty heads in every mile of the Tamil land. But, what is more, it has led to an extraordinary development of devotional singing and devotional dancing, which constitute the outward expression of the Bhakti Mārga. Singing and dancing always formed the essential feature of religion in Tamil India from the earliest times, and when Śivan or Viṣṇu became the Nāyakan, the Lord, these Gods became not only the objects towards whom these activities were directed but Themselves became the exponents of these arts, Śiva of dancing and Kṛṣṇa of singing. One result of this is that Art never became secular and will continue to be religious, so long as Tamil civilization endures.

The outward expression of Bhakti to Viṣṇu or Śivan by means of singing and dancing was very much developed in the Tamil country during the glorious days of the Tamil Empire (IX to XIII cent. A. D.) In this period of Tamil expansion, the specific Tamil forms of the Bhakti Mārga spread to Teliṅgāna and the Seūṇa dēśam; and

the famous Pandharpūr school of Bhakti arose. Thence were developed other North Indian schools of Bhakti, like the Kabīr Panthā, and the Caitanya Matam, which latter, though in its philosophical aspect affiliated to the teachings of Rāmānuja and Madhva, is yet in its actual practice, an extreme form of singing and dancing Bhakti.

The Jnāna Mārga:

From early times, Brāḥmaṇas of South India, took a prominent part in the development of Āryan thought of all forms. Nāgārjuna, the great Ācārya of one of the later developments of the Bauddha doctrine was a Southerner and probably a native of Kāñcī.

"As a sorcerer he (i.e. Nāgārjuna) is glorified in the text Grub-thob brgyad-cu-rtsa-bshibi rnam-thar . . , which refers back to an unknown Sanskrit original. In the same sense and in similar connection he is mentioned in the Pag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ of Sum-pa mkhan-po ye-ces dpal-hbyor p. 121 et seq. According to this, Nāgārjuna who had sprung from a Brahmin caste is said to have received the magic powers (siddhi) from Tārā during his stay at Kahora, a part of Kāñcī in Eastern India, thereupon to have gone away at a time of general distress, after having surrendered all his possessions in favour of the Brahmins of Kahora and to have proceeded over the Śītavana (near Rājagṛha) to Nālanda where he became a monk and attained the zenith of his knowledge in the five sciences. Hereupon, from aversion to preaching he enchanted the Tārā and beheld her countenance. When also here accommodation and food became short, he returned to his native soil, went later again to Rājagṛha where he remained twelve years, then to Mount

Ghaṇṭāśaila and herefrom to the Śrīparvata in the south where he spent the rest of his long life."[6]

Dinnāga, Buddhadatta, and Dharmakīrti, were other Southeners who wrote on Buddhistic logic or doctrines.

A Baudhāyana wrote a vṛtti on the Mīnāmsā, both pūrva and uttara, called Kṛtakōṭi.[7] It has been receutly discovered by S. Kuppuswāmi Śāstrī that Ācārya Sundara Pāṇḍya was the person whose vārttika was quoted by Śaṅkarācārya in his commentaries on Vedānta Sūtra I. i. 4.[8] A book on Ethics, called Nīti dvi ṣaṣṭika, attributed to Sundara Pāṇḍya, has been very recently discovered and printed;[9] as quotations from it occur in the Pañcatantra and the Janāśrayī, it appears that Ācārya Sundara Pāṇḍya must have lived before the VI century A. D.[10] Sundara Pāṇḍya being a well-known name of several kings, there is a temptation to identify this Ācārya with a king of Madura. I cannot think of any Pāṇḍya king capable of writing such works. I think Sundara Pandya mearly means Sundara of the Pāṇḍya country.

From the VIII century onwards upto our own days have risen a series of intellectual giants in Southern India, who have shaped the philosophical thought of the whole of the country. The first of these was Śaṅkārācārya, whose advaita exposition of the Vedānta

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[6] M. Walleser. The life of Nāgārjuna from Tibetan and Chinese sources, p. 3.

[7] Journel of Indian History, I. xiii pp. 1C7-113.

[8] Journal of Oriental Research I. i. pp. 5-15.

[9] By V. Prabhākara Śastrī.

[10] M. Ramakṛṣṇa Kavi in the preface to Nītidviṣaṣṭika.

is the highwater mark of philosophical thinking, which is not mere speculation but the achievement of mystic experience in which is realized the identity of the life of the individual and that of the cosmos, or, to be more accurate, the ātmā knows itself to exist and nothing else. The pursuit of this has to be conducted on a path keen as a razor's edge, and is associated with supreme difficulty (kleśodhikara). The next was Rāmānuja who brought about a compromise between the stern Vedānta and the facile (Vaiṣṇava) Āgama paths. Ānandatīrtha emphasised the Āgama factor a little more than Rāmānuja. Thence were developed the religio-philosophical systems, usually called Baiṣṇav in Northern India. Other South Indian ācāryas, like Nīlakaṇṭha Śivācārya, have blended the Vedānta and Śaiva and Śākta Āgama teachings and practices and these have influenced the growth of the Śaiva and Śākta discipines of North India.

Thus as it was in the very remote past, so it has been in the comparatively recent past, South India has acted as the heart of India throughout the ages. In the very early Stone Age, South India alone was inhabited by man, for relics of primitive human workmanship have been found only on the low hills born from the break-up of the Deccan plateau. Then man migrated to the river-valleys of South as well as North India. Iron was discovered and saddled to the service of man in South India; it spread thence to the North, before 3000 B. C., to serve the needs of the Saindhava culture, evidence of whose existence in the remote past has been wrenched recently from the jealous bosom of the earth. Some time after arose in North India, the culture called Ārya, which from its inception was associated with literature and has hence claimed the devotion of scholars.

This Ārya culture ultimately led to the development of various schools of philosophy and methods of divine worship and spiritual discipline in North India in historic times. When this highly complicated Aryan culture fertilized the Tamil genius which till then concerned itself only with realistic literature and the arts of religious singing and dancing, there arose a sudden uphcaval of the spirit in the artistic and religious aspects of its life, what one might call a conflagra tion of artistic and religious fire, with two brilliant flames-tongues—that called Bhakti and that called Jñana, the lights of which have been directing the foot-steps of all Hindus in the search for spirituality. Hence South India has been the source of most things characteristically Hindu, in the present as in the remote past, and the orientation of Indian history will be correct only if the important part played in its unbroken development by the Tamils is correctly apprehended and it is realized that South India did not plough a lonely furrow during the ages but acted as the perpetual spring whence the life-giving waters of science, art, and religion have been steadily flowing especially in recent times to the rest of this vast country of Bhāratavarṣa.

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